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ABSTRACT

The goals of this study were to review what is known about worker job mobility in the social welfare and rehabilitation services fields, to organize this knowledge, and to suggest improvements in career design and employee management in these fields. To supplement the review of research and theoretical literature, two sets of personal interviews were conducted. First, the "expert informants" interviews with 28 educators, public officials, and agency directors collected data on impressions of and experiences with worker job mobility. Second, the "critical incidents" interviews with 40 direct service workers and first-line supervisors concerned their job entry factors and incidents when they changed jobs or contemplated job changes. Recommendations for action drawn from the literature and from the limited field investigation are presented in relation to initial job entry, job turnover, and internal mobility. The first publication in this national study is available as ED 057 198. (MF)

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research report

no. 1 OVERVIEW STUDY OF THE DYNAMICS OF WORKER JOB MOBILITY

National Study of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation Workers, Work, and Organizational Contexts

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DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE
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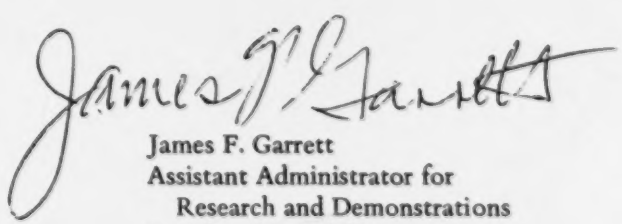
FOREWORD

This volume is the second publication from a five-year program of research on social welfare and rehabilitation workers, the work they do, and the settings in which that work is performed: the National Study of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation Workers, Work, and Organizational Contexts. A summary of the research plan appears in Appendix "C" of this report. The new knowledge generated by this integrated program of research is expected to be of use to policy makers, administrators, service delivery workers, and other personnel of public and private agencies and to teachers and students in the field. It will be available to these users through a series of publications of different types: working papers, research reports, and program application reports.

This volume is the report of the initial, overview phase of the study of dynamics of worker job mobility and implications for service delivery. The tentative findings reported here are the result of a review of research and theoretical writings and a limited investigation using an "open" type personal interview with two types of respondents: expert informants and workers recently involved in a critical mobility episode. More detailed and definitive information about worker job mobility is expected to emerge from two ongoing research efforts: an intensive investigation of differential worker job mobility in a small number of selected agencies and from a national sample survey of workers, work, and employing organizations.

This overview report and the research on which it is based was under the direction of Dr. Raymond A. Katzell, Head, Department of Psychology, New York University. Dr. Abraham K. Korman and Dr. Edward L. Levine, co-authors, are from the same department and university. Needless to say, the opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and in no way reflect an official position of the Social and Rehabilitation Service.

The overriding purpose of the publications series, as of the study itself, is utility. Usefulness will be increased by comments and suggestions from potential users of the research and from colleagues in other settings. Readers are invited to address comments and suggestions about the publications or about the research itself to Jean Szaloczi Fine, director of the National Study and editor of this series of publications.



James F. Garrett
Assistant Administrator for
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Washington, D.C.
September 1971

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Patricia McGraw, Lana Smart, and Howard M. Weiss of our staff, helped to plan and conduct the literature review and the limited field investigation. Mrs. Smart also deserves additional mention for her part in typing and assembling the report manuscript.

Jean Szaloczi Fine and Helen Mansfield of the Social and Rehabilitation Service, HEW, provided a great deal of support and advice during all stages of the project.

Our New York University Advisory Committee, composed of Professors Melvin Herman, Joseph C. Lagey, Patricia Livingston, Walter S. Neff, Erwin O. Smigel, Bruno Stein, and Joseph Weitz, and Assistant Dean Oscar H. Rosenfeld, offered their expertise in the initial planning stages of this study and during the literature review.

Finally, we wish to express our thanks for the cooperation of those individuals who gave so willingly of their time to serve as Expert Informant or Respondent interviewees. Although the demands of confidentiality require that they remain nameless, it is our hope that they will be satisfied with the outcome of this research and with the knowledge that they have made an important contribution to it.

Raymond A. Katzell
Abraham K. Korman
Edward L. Levine
New York University

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

SUMMARY

1. *This study has three major goals:*

   - *To review what is known about worker job mobility, especially that which occurs within the Social Welfare and Rehabilitation Services (SWRS) field.*
   - *To organize this knowledge into a meaningful and valid conceptual framework.*
   - *To indicate suggestions for improving the management of and career design for workers in the SWRS field.*

2. *Three sources were utilized to gather what knowledge is available:*

   - *A broad-gauged literature review.*
   - *In-depth interviews with 28 educators, public officials, and agency directors (or other key personnel) concerning their experiences and views of the dynamics of job mobility.*
   - *Interviews with 40 direct service and first-line supervisory personnel on their reasons for entry into the field and on recent incidents when they changed jobs as well as when they contemplated but decided not to change jobs.*

EXPLICATION

The understanding and management of worker job mobility are central to any program of manpower planning and utilization. Certain forms of job mobility are crucial to the effective delivery of the goods or services delivered by the system in which the workers are employed: competent workers must be attracted into the system, and within the system they must move into institutions and jobs in which their particular talents are in greater rather than lesser demand. Other forms of job mobility need to be minimized in order to improve system effectiveness or reduce costs: turnover of competent workers out of the system must be averted, as must movement within the system which has no relevance to meeting the system's overall manpower needs (e.g., "job-hopping").

Job mobility has implications not only for the system and its clientele but for the workers themselves. Those forms of mobility which enhance the satisfactions and self-actualization of workers should be facilitated, and those leading to frustration and failure should be averted.

Indeed so important are these considerations that the management of manpower systems entails a host of operations intended at least in part to facilitate desirable aspects of worker job mobility and to curtail undesirable forms. These operations include recruitment, selection, placement, education and training, promotion, incentives and reward systems, job and organizational design, supervision, and worker counseling. However, it is essential that these manpower management procedures be designed in ways which are relevant to their desired effects; else they run the risk of being both costly and ineffectual. Such relevance can be assured only if the procedures are rooted in a body of theory derived from systematic study and research.

Fortunately, worker job mobility has long been the subject of study by social scientists and management specialists, so that considerable information has been accumulated on its various forms and their causes and consequences. Efforts have also been addressed to ordering this information into theoretical frameworks. However, most of this work has been based on industries and productive systems other than social welfare and rehabilitation services.* Although some attention has been given specifically to SWRS workers, there are still gaps in the picture of the dynamics of job mobility in this field.

* In the remainder of this document, the abbreviation SWRS will be employed to refer to social welfare and rehabilitation services.

The purpose of the present report is to review the literature about the subject of worker job mobility, to organize the knowledge within a meaningful and valid conceptual framework, and to indicate recommendations for improving the management of and career design for workers in the SWRS field. The approach will be selective, rather than encyclopedic, in order to highlight that knowledge which is most applicable to administrators and policymakers facing practical problems in the SWRS field and to investigators who wish to extend the understanding of the dynamics of job mobility of SWRS workers. For these reasons, particular attention will be given to the literature dealing specifically with workers in this field.

In order to supplement the literature pertaining specifically to the SWRS field, two additional steps were taken and are also reported here. First, interviews were conducted with 28 knowledgeable informants in the field concerning their experiences with and views of the dynamics of job mobility. Second, 40 direct service SWRS workers and first-line supervisors were interviewed concerning the circumstances surrounding their entry into the field and recent incidents when they changed jobs and when they decided against changing jobs. These two aspects of our limited field investigation were conducted to help insure that important factors in the mobility of SWRS workers were not being ignored as a result of deficiencies in the literature and also to provide leads as to how the relevant factors might be studied in later investigations of the subject.

The following chapter presents a conceptual framework which the authors believe seems to organize the extant information on the dynamics of job mobility and to explain the relationships among the component phenomena. The three next chapters review the literature bearing on major forms of job mobility: initial entry into an occupation, turnover, and movement internal to an institution. Following these is a chapter reporting the limited field investigation. The final chapter summarizes various suggestions and recommendations derived from the review of the literature and the field investigation.

Each chapter commences with a summary of what the chapter contains. Within each chapter of the literature review the format is comprised of these major sections:

Definition and Measurement
Patterns of Mobility
Consequences of Mobility
Factors Associated with Mobility
    Personal Factors in Mobility
    Environmental Factors in Mobility

CHAPTER 2

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY

SUMMARY

1. *Job mobility is defined as a change in a person's job status; i.e., in the nature of his duties and activities and/or in the organization in which they are performed.*

2. *Several different types of job mobility are delineated, including:*
   - *Initial entry into an occupation or job.*
   - *Turnover (leaving the agency because of termination or discharge, layoff, quitting for another job within or outside the field, retirement, illness or death, etc.).*
   - *Internal mobility (within-agency promotion, transfer, or demotion).*

3. *Worker job mobility is a function of two major processes as viewed in the conceptual framework:* **occasion** *and* **choice.**

4. **Occasion** *includes those factors which are outside the worker's control and which determine whether mobility is possible. It comprises two types of occasions: opportunities and necessities for mobility.*

5. **Choice** *is the individual's decision to change or not to change his job. In general, an individual's choices are a function of his expectancies concerning the likelihood that changing jobs, or remaining where he is, will result in greater goal attainment or will reduce aversions (unpleasant stimuli). The process of choice is not necessarily a rational one.*

6. *In order to predict a choice one must know what the individual's goals and expectations are. The individual will usually choose a situation which he expects will yield the greatest net satisfaction or utility.*

7. *The individual's demography and characteristics of the work environment (community, agency, job) may also be useful in predicting worker job mobility. With reference to* **choice**, *various subsets of workers (e.g., the young, MSW's) may share goals in common; and certain subsets of organizations (e.g., large, small, public, private) may have in common the extent to which they provide opportunities for goal attainment. With reference to* **occasion**, *different subsets of organizations may differ systematically on the extent to which mobility opportunities are available. Opportunities may also differ for workers having different demographic characteristics (e.g., females may be less likely to be chosen for executive posts).*

EXPLICATION

It is useful to adopt a conceptual framework in order to integrate the numerous and often confusing facts pertaining to worker job mobility. Such a framework can assist not only in the understanding of the dynamics of mobility but can also serve as a road map for management action and as a guide for further research. The framework adopted in this study is outlined in the remainder of this chapter.

A. Job mobility is defined as a change in a person's job status; that is, change in the nature of his duties and activities and/or in the organization in which they are performed.

B. There are several different types of job mobility, principally:

1. When the worker first enters an occupation or job (initial entry).

2. Once employed by an agency in the occupational field, workers may undergo the following types of mobility *within* that agency or occupational setting:

   a. upward mobility (promotion)

   b. lateral mobility (transfer)

   c. downward mobility (demotion)

3. Workers may also leave an employing agency or setting, giving rise to the following varieties of *turnover*:

   a. termination or discharge

   b. layoff due to lack of work or funds

   c. quitting for employment in another setting within the occupational field

   d. quitting to leave the occupational field

4. *Re-entry* into an occupation may occur some time after a person has left it.

C. Each instance of job mobility is a result of two processes: *occasion* and *choice*.

1. *Occasion* consists of a set of circumstances which define whether or not mobility is possible. These circumstances are beyond the control of the

individual worker and are essentially of two types: *opportunity* (as when a new position is created or an existing position is vacated) and *necessity* (as when an existing position is discontinued or when a worker reaches mandatory retirement age).

a. A major aspect of occasion affecting job mobility is the *labor market* for an occupation. In an expanding labor market, more opportunity for mobility is afforded, and there are fewer instances where marginal workers are laid off. Conversely, in a contracting market, opportunity is less, while there may be more instances of mobility due to necessity.

b. A second major aspect of occasion consists of personnel practices and policies of individual agencies and institutions in the field. That is, apart from the labor market in his occupational field, a worker's opportunities or necessities for job mobility may be affected by the agency for which he works or might like to work. An agency's recruitment practices may or may not bring job openings to his attention; depending on agency selection procedures or standards, he may or may not be hired; training or promotional policies may or may not afford him opportunity for advancement, etc. Such factors may be differentiated from the labor market by categorizing them under the label of *agency determinants of occasion.*

2. *Choice* is the process whereby a person makes a decision about changing his job status. Whether or not he actually changes it depends, of course, not only on his choice but on whether a suitable occasion exists. Students of the subject have increasingly been finding useful some form of utility or expectancy theory to explain the process of job choice. Such a theoretical position has been set forth by Katzell (1964) and is adapted below for the purpose at hand.

a. A person does things (such as taking a job) which he expects will be instrumental in attaining one or more of his goals, and avoids doing things which he expects will negate goal attainment. Similarly, he will not do things which he expects will result in aversions but may do things which will avoid such aversions.

i. By "goal" is meant the kind and amount of experience which a person believes will be satisfying to him. For example, if a person feels that helping people will prove satisfying to him, we say that personal service is one of his goals. By "aversion" is meant the kind and amount of experience which a person believes will be unpleasant to him. Thus, clerical activity may constitute an aversion to some people.

ii. The satisfaction derived from attaining some goals is greater than that derived from attaining other goals. The former goal may therefore be regarded as more important or salient for the person than the latter. Similarly, failure to attain his more salient goals is more frustrating to a person than failure to attain less salient ones.

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iii. Since most human actions have relevance to more than one goal or aversion, a person will tend to do things which he expects will raise his *net* satisfactions to an acceptable level; i.e., which will attain some goals, especially the more salient ones, while not entailing excessive aversions. In doing so, he is inclined merely to "satisfice" rather than to maximize his values (March and Simon, 1958); this implies that a person is not inclined to seek out the job which best fits his goals but will settle for one which merely approximates them.

iv. A limitation on a person's ability even to satisfice is his limited rationality. Factors which make people less than purely rational include the infringement of emotional and personality factors on cognitive ones (such as the tendency of some people to avoid calculated risks), and deficiencies in information available for decisions (such as distorted perceptions of what a prospective job entails). This means that a person may not only not make the best choice of an occupation or of a job but often will not even make a good choice in terms of his goals and values.

v. In choosing between two or more courses of action (such as choosing one of several job options), a person will tend to select the one that he expects will yield the greatest net satisfaction or utility (have the most plusses and fewest minuses)—this within the aforementioned limited bounds of rationality. The tendency to satisfice reduces the likelihood that a person will respond to miniscule differences in the expected net satisfaction between alternatives. Put in terms of resignation, a worker will change jobs to the extent that he is dissatisfied with his present job and perceives an available alternative as more attractive.

b. From the foregoing, it follows that in order to predict a person's choice concerning an occupation or job, given an occasion for choice, two kinds of information are necessary:

i. what are his *goals* (and aversions) and

ii. what are his *expectations* concerning the extent to which the available alternatives will provide them. For example, we need to know how much professional challenge a person wants (in satisficing terms) and what he expects by way of challenge in Alternative A or B. All other things being equal, he will avoid the one that deviates excessively from his goal (i.e., is seen as providing either too little or too much challenge) and choose the one that approximates the desired level. Expectations, in turn, also have two components: an estimate of the extent to which a job affords the relevant goals or aversions; and an estimate of the likelihood that the person may in fact be able to get the job in question.

The second aspect of expectation points to the distinction between job *preference* and job *choice*. A person may prefer one job to another but decide to seek the second because he thinks he is more likely to get it. The prediction of choice requires knowing both aspects of a person's expectations, but the prediction of preference entails only the first aspect.

c. It is also possible to predict job mobility to some extent on an actuarial or statistical basis, even without knowing the goals and expectations of each individual. This is because, given the usual attributes of an occupation or job, people having certain characteristics are more likely to have goals that can be attained through that type of work than are people having other characteristics. The former are therefore more likely to be attracted to that kind of work or job than are the latter and, once in it, are more likely to stay. These kinds of *demographic data* are therefore useful in predicting probabilities of mobility among people and can help system managers in personnel recruitment and selection. Such data might, for example, include age, sex, education, socio-economic status, previous experience, intelligence, or vocational interests.

d. It is similarly possible to predict job mobility to some extent on an actuarial basis from *characteristics of the environment*. This is because there is some similarity of goals among workers in a particular field, so that certain features of a work setting are more likely to prove attractive to most workers than are other features. These environmental features may be grouped for convenience under several headings: *community, agency,* and *job*. Thus, for example, working in ghetto communities, or in large bureaucratic agencies, or doing routine financial assistance work may be less attractive in terms of the goals of most workers in the SWRS field than would working in contrasting settings and would therefore be predictive of mobility out of those environments. Again, knowledge of such environmental influences on mobility can be of a great assistance to system planners and managers who wish to channel job mobility in desirable directions, insofar as they are able to shape the characteristics of work environments or to compensate for those which they cannot shape.

e. The operation of demographic and environmental variables in predicting job mobility has been explained above in terms of their relevance to the process of *choice*. Further predictive power is attributable to such variables via their relevance also to *occasion*. Thus, certain opportunities may be more available to *persons* having certain demographic characteristics than others (for example, higher managerial positions have generally been more open to men than women). Also, conditions in certain *environments* may create more occasions for mobility than in other environments (for example, large organizations having more echelons of management may afford more opportunities for promotion from within than small agencies).

D. The foregoing conceptual framework has described the forms of job mobility and the basic dynamics underlying them. Although not an integral feature of the dynamics of mobility, it is of interest and of practical value also to assess the *consequences* of various forms of job mobility. It may be noted that mobility may have effects on any or all of the following: the worker himself; the agency where he formerly worked and the new agency to which he may move; and his clients. In aggregate, certain mobility patterns may also have consequences for a field as a whole, such as when many experienced workers leave it. Furthermore, the consequences of mobility to each of these parties may be either favorable or unfavorable or both.

CHAPTER 3

INITIAL ENTRY OF WORKERS INTO THE SOCIAL WELFARE AND REHABILITATION SERVICES FIELD

SUMMARY

1. *Initial entry is that behavior which constitutes the first performance of a subset of those tasks, behaviors, and duties which impartial observers would agree constitute an occupational field. Initial entry is to be distinguished from mere occupational preference or liking, which may or may not be a precursor to entry itself..*

2. *Initial entry behavior is a function of:*
   - *The "effective goal-system" or the goals which an individual attempts to implement in his job choices;*
   - *The perceived and actual availability of effective goal satisfaction in a given occupational field and/or agency;*
   - *The perceived and actual availability of jobs in a given occupational field and/or agency; and/or*
   - *Certain demographic characteristics of a person which may alter the amount of opportunity for him in the field, and/or may influence his choice of job.*

3. *The question of how to measure the availability of jobs in a given agency or the field is far from clear from the literature. The measures used—for example, the change in the total number of workers from one point in time to another—are all subject to bias, since such factors as the number of workers leaving the SWRS field or the particular subfields included in the sampling design are not taken into account.*

4. *The available data suggest that there has been a marked increase in the number of individuals entering the SWRS field.*

5. *In spite of the increase in numbers of new workers, the SWRS literature emphatically indicates that SWRS manpower needs have far exceeded the numbers entering. For example, 10,000 jobs with funds allocated were evidently left vacant in 1963. It is also noteworthy that present training facilities seem incapable of meeting the demand for professional manpower. However, it must be pointed out that, owing to various pressures for field-wide growth, the estimates of manpower shortages which have appeared in the literature may be exaggerated.*

6. *The literature is lacking in evidence concerning the consequences of initial entry for the field, the clients, and particular agencies. For example, evidence can be marshalled to support either the favorable effects on clients of initial entry of indigenous paraprofessionals (e.g., better communications) or the unfavorable effects (e.g., indigenous paraprofessionals may be ineffective in a helping role).*

   In terms of consequences to the individual, more evidence is available. Primarily, the consequences seem negative, including such effects as disillusionment, loss of idealism, loss of interest in staying in the field. There are, however, a few findings which demonstrate such positive consequences as a more satisfying life and increased opportunity for upward mobility.

7. *There are demonstrable differences, as our conceptual framework would predict, between the goals, expectations, and demographic characteristics of people who enter the SWRS field and those of people entering other fields. SWRS entrants are more likely to be of urban origin, of middle- or lower-class background, to have strong social service and social interaction interests, and to be of less than the highest intellectual and academic ability in terms of scores on various measures. There are also differences between those who enter one SWRS subfield as compared to another (social welfare entrants are predominantly female; rehabilitation entrants are predominantly male).*

8. *There is a considerable amount of congruence, as our conceptual model would predict, between the goals a person adopts and the goals he sees as possible of being satisfied in the occupation he enters. The higher the individual's self-esteem, the greater will be the extent to which this congruence occurs.*

9. *Environmental factors in the SWRS field which are evidently associated with initial entry include the job market, increasing salary levels, more sophisticated recruitment strategies such as the use of scholarship programs and the*

establishment of a permanent recruitment agency (the National Commission for Social Work Careers), and programs of research which are designed to unearth new sources of recruits.

10. *Agencies themselves, while obviously not able to affect markedly the overall labor market, may increase or decrease entry by altering the availability of jobs within their own locality by:*
    - *Restructuring jobs so that the total number of jobs available increases;*
    - *Publicizing the fact that openings are available; and*
    - *Reducing entry requirements.*

11. *On the other hand, little is known about the effects, either functional or dysfunctional, of these various methods. For example, reducing entry requirements, as when an agency hires certain paraprofessionals, may result in a larger influx of workers but may also produce lower prestige for the agency. Research is obviously needed to assess the consequences of the methods used to alter the number of jobs available in an agency.*

12. *For a particular agency to attract individuals, it must do more than merely provide job openings. It must also offer incentives to the individual which will increase his expectation of goal attainment if he chooses to take a job. The literature offers only one suggestion for the accomplishment of this aim that is supported by past research, the establishment of internship training programs which provide satisfying short-term work experience. All other recommendations are based on a mass of stereotypes, contradictions, and unsupported hypotheses and arguments.*

13. *There is little in the literature to assess directly and specifically the impact on entry of salaries and prestige of a particular agency or the entire field.*

14. *The need for definitive empirical research in this area appears great. In general, what relevant literature is available tends to support our conceptual framework, although it is necessary to add that much more must be done in order to validate or invalidate the conceptualization.*

DEFINITION, CONCEPTUALIZATION, AND MEASUREMENT OF INITIAL ENTRY

FORMAL DEFINITION

As a type of behavior, the initial entry of an individual into an occupational field is, conceptually, not a complex one. Thus, for present purposes, it may be considered to be that behavior which constitutes the first performance of a subset of those tasks, behaviors, and duties which impartial observers would agree constitute an occupational field. Such a subset may, furthermore, consist of actual task behavior, or it may be training duties of various kinds; the key factor is whether the behavioral activities involved can logically and definitively be assumed to be some subset of the behaviors which constitute the given occupational field.

Unfortunately, despite what would appear to be the relative clarity of this definition, there is some confusion and ambiguity in the literature, a confusion which appears to be unnecessary. The problem stems from the fact that at times the dependent variable in "initial entry" or "vocational choice" is "occupational preference" or "liking," rather than actual entry into the field itself. While the two are obviously related and both will be considered below, the relationship is far from perfect and is, in fact, conditioned by other variables. Hence, it is necessary to make clear that it is entry itself, an actual behavior, which will be the main focus of interest, although the variable "occupational preference" will also be referred to where appropriate.

Given this definition, there are two ways in which initial entry into the SWRS field as a form of behavior is of concern here. One concern is with those factors which influence its occurrence. Why do people enter the field? What social, psychological, environmental, and organizational factors influence such choices? Second, there is interest in initial entry because of its consequences. Of what significance is it to the SWRS field to have a large number of individuals coming into the field rather than a small number? Of what significance is it to an agency to have a large number of newcomers? Of what significance is it to the individual worker that he has entered the field?

This chapter will be concerned with determining the extent to which the research literature provides answers to these questions. In addition, there will also be an attempt, where the data are available and relevant, to elaborate, assess, and refine the conceptual framework for worker job mobility which has been outlined in the preceding chapter, as it bears on the question of initial entry.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF INITIAL ENTRY IN TERMS OF THE FRAMEWORK

It seems fruitful to view initial entry as a type of behavior to be understood and predicted as a function of two major components. These components, which were described more generally earlier, include in this context the availability of a job (occasion) and the likelihood that it will be chosen (choice).

The actual availability of jobs in a given occupational field is a significant determinant of movement into that field since, obviously, entry cannot take place unless jobs exist. Hence, in order to understand the factors that actually determine movement into a given occupational field, attention must be given to those economic, social, psychological, and organizational variables that influence the availability of jobs; i.e., the job market. Two segments of the discussion below will be devoted to reviewing that research literature which has been concerned with matters of this nature and then attempting to integrate it.

The review of this subject will center both on the literature which has concerned itself with the specific characteristics of agencies and management strategies which have determined the availability of jobs in that specific agency, and on the general labor market. In the former case, we will be interested mostly in such matters as what managers have done (or can do) in such areas as selection strategies, recruiting policies, and development procedures to increase or decrease job availability in their specific agencies and contexts. In the latter case, those factors that influence general labor market conditions for the field as a whole are discussed.*

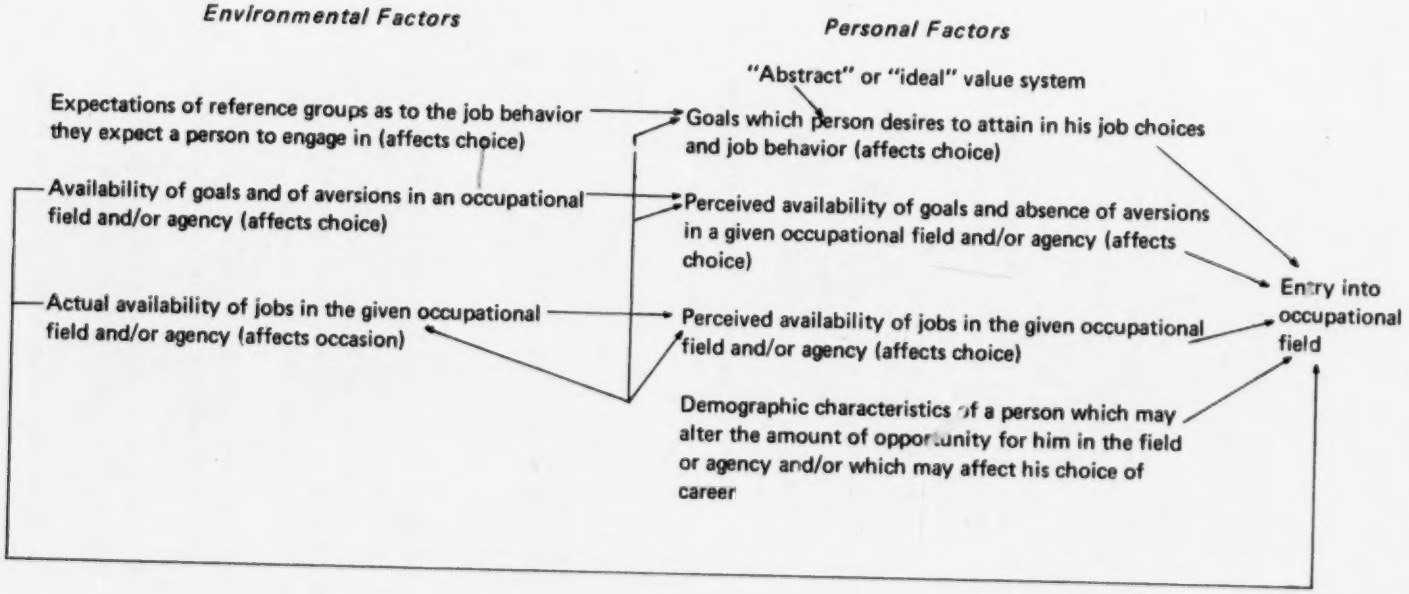
It should be noted that the factors which influence general labor market demand for a large field such as social welfare and rehabilitation are quite complex and poorly understood at this time. Even if the degree of knowledge were higher, it is doubtful that agency administrators would be able to affect the general labor market for the field; rather this information should be more useful to policy planners at a national level. On the other hand, the concern of agency administrators with how to affect the degree of entry into their agencies (either increasing or decreasing it) is a matter of great concern to them, and it is at this level where some administrative control is possible. Hence, the determinants of availability of jobs in various agencies, which will appear under Agency Characteristics and Practices rubric in the subsequent section on Environmental Factors in Initial Entry section, may be of more immediate value to agency managers.

Our conceptualization of the vocational choice process is a direct derivative of the general model we developed in the previous chapter. It is presented in Figure 1.

Conceptually, we view the process of choosing a given occupational field as being a function of personal and environmental factors as shown in Figure 1.

* See the following section, Patterns of Initial Entry or Lack of Entry into the Field.

Figure 1. Basic Model of Factors Influencing Initial Entry into an Occupation


Environmental Factors
Personal Factors
"Abstract" or "ideal" value system
Expectations of reference groups as to the job behavior they expect a person to engage in (affects choice)
Goals which person desires to attain in his job choices and job behavior (affects choice)
Availability of goals and of aversions in an occupational field and/or agency (affects choice)
Perceived availability of goals and absence of aversions in a given occupational field and/or agency (affects choice)
Entry into occupational field
Actual availability of jobs in the given occupational field and/or agency (affects occasion)
Perceived availability of jobs in the given occupational field and/or agency (affects choice)
Demographic characteristics of a person which may alter the amount of opportunity for him in the field or agency and/or which may affect his choice of career

The goals that a person attempts to implement in his choice of occupation constitute one influence on entry. These in turn are products of his demographic characteristics such as ability and socioeconomic status, abstract or ideal value system, and the expectations of reference groups as to the job behavior they expect him to engage in.

Another causal factor is the perceived availability of goals and absence of aversions in a given occupational field. Every field provides goals and aversions, and these are reflected in perceptions, which, when goals are perceived as outweighing aversions, lead to entry. The person's demographic characteristics may affect the extent to which the goals and aversions in a field are made known to him. For example, the higher the person's level of education, the more likely he is to know what goals and aversions are present in a field and whether their relative availability or absence is suitable for his entry into that field.

Also, the person will choose to enter an occupation when he perceives that jobs are available to him. Again, demographic characteristics are involved in the sense that they affect the job market information available to the person. For example, those in urban areas are more likely to have wider access to information about job opportunities than those in rural areas (cf. Blau and Duncan, 1967). Obviously, these perceptions are a function of the actual availability of jobs as well, a condition which illustrates why we have assigned it such importance in the previous discussion. On the other hand, whether or not entry actually takes place is evidently a *direct* function of actual availability of jobs. The actual job market, as discussed in Chapter 2, is a portion of *occasion* for mobility. Demographic characteristics have an effect here also, since opportunities may be greater in a particular occupational field and/or agency for some individuals than for others.

Furthermore, both the state of the occupation and/or agency with respect to availability of goals and aversions (e.g., prestige, salary) and demographic characteristics may be directly or actuarially associated with entry, in spite of the fact that it may not be possible to specify exactly how they influence a person's choice process.

Although arrows are not indicated, it should be recognized that entry behavior may alter or affect the person's goals and perceptions as well; i.e., entry behavior has important consequences for the individual himself. In aggregate, entry behavior will likewise affect particular agencies, their clients, the field, and society.

A number of aspects of this model perhaps need to be emphasized since they involve logical, theoretical, and measurement considerations. One point which should be mentioned is the distinction between, on the one hand, the "abstract" or "ideal" values and desires which a person has together with the general social influences which impinge on him, and, on the other, the actual goals and desires which he attempts to implement in his job behavior. Such actual motivators of behavior are defined as "goals" and there is both (a) considerable evidence to indicate that they may differ from one's abstract or ideal values, and

(b) theorizing about why such a phenomenon occurs. Thus this must be accounted for, both in our model and in our measurement process in later empirical research.

A second aspect of our framework which warrants mentioning, again stemming from our discussion in the previous chapter, is that the behaving individual is operating within his perception of the world, and it is his perceptions which influence his tendencies to movement. Thus he may have incomplete and/or distorted knowledge of the world, leading possibly to frustration in his attempts at movement in situations where such movement may be desired.

A third aspect is the recognition that both personal and environmental factors may affect occasion as well as choice. Thus behavior is in this model a function of the person and environment separately and interactively.

Given this conceptualization, our review of initial entry into the SWRS field as a process was centered around the following groups of questions.

1. What do we know about the measurement of initial entry *per se*? Are the measures available adequate for manpower planning purposes? What are the patterns of initial entry into the SWRS field?

2. What do we know about the consequences of initial entry to the worker, the client, the agency, and the field?

3. What do we know about the characteristics of the individual which tend to be associated with the choice of social welfare and rehabilitation as a career? Does what is known about these characteristics fit into some type of meaningful pattern? Is the pattern, if one exists, accounted for by our proposed model, or must the model be changed in some way? If so, how? Or are the data so fragmentary at this point that no evaluation of theoretical models is possible?

4. What do we know about the organizational and environmental factors that influence initial entry both in the field as a whole and in a given agency? What management strategies and behaviors are involved? What structures are involved? Can these factors be measured in any meaningful fashion?

The discussion below deals with these issues in the order in which they are listed.

MEASUREMENT OF INITIAL ENTRY

There are few suggestions in the literature concerning how to measure initial entry into the SWRS field, or any field for that matter. Further, the measures that have appeared are contaminated because they usually include not only workers entering the field for the first time but also those who may have re-entered the field after a period of absence or may have moved from one type of agency to another.

The following are examples:

1. The number of appointments made by agencies in an SWRS subfield (HEW-Division of State Merit Systems, 1966).

2. Council on Social Work Education figures on capacities of schools of social work (Adler and Trobe, 1968) or number of graduates per year (Reichert, 1970). This measure is best regarded as an index of the combined total of both initial entry and re-entry into the field of all those gaining professional status, since many graduates of schools of social work had entered the field prior to attendance at achool (Stamm, 1968).

3. Bureau of Labor Statistics data on changes in the number of workers in the field from one point in time to another (Baker, 1965).

Other potentially applicable measures are even more rudimentary, since they merely indicate whether the amount of initial entry is adequate relative to the number of new workers needed. They include, for example:

1. Survey of available vacancies in corrections by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (Sigurdson, 1969).

2. Presidential Commission estimates of the projected entry needs of the corrections field (Phillips, 1969).

3. The extent to which the recently recommended minimum salary for MSW's (National Commission for Social Work Careers, 1969a) has been accepted by SWRS agencies (cf. Bumas, 1967; Druzina and Phillips, 1966).

4. The extent of use of employment agencies on a fee-paid basis (Life Office Management Association, 1970).

5. The mean length of time a job remains open (Doster, 1970; Life Office Management Association, 1970).

6. The mean number of applications received before accepting an employee (Life Office Management Association, 1970).

The variety and obvious deficiencies of these measures seem to reflect considerable fragmentation in previous approaches to manpower needs and projections (i.e., initial entry needs). There seems to have been little attempt to coordinate manpower projections by pooling the estimated number needed, or projected to be needed, among the various types of agencies in the SWRS field in accordance with some agreed-upon set of priorities in goals and missions.

In addition, there is the lack of a consensus on a definition of the field: Inclusion of different subfields to derive sets of statistics as indicators of initial entry needs will often lead to confusion rather than clarification (Szaloczi, 1967a). Moreover, it seems necessary to develop job taxonomies within and among SWRS subfields to allow for more specific projections of requirements than the usual, "We need x number of social workers by 1975." Indeed, to

approach the problem realistically requires a continuous effort, rather than the usual approach of "one-shot" estimates of manpower needs. Such estimates may often lose their relevance, perhaps as soon as the day after they are made, and are completely obsolete by the time they reach the field, the public, or the legislature(s).

PATTERNS OF ENTRY OR LACK OF ENTRY INTO THE FIELD

The SWRS field has grown in response to the increased demand placed upon it by growing numbers of disadvantaged and disabled individuals who have begun to make use of SWRS facilities (cf. Gans, 1971). This demand has apparently grown so rapidly that the number of workers entering the field, although substantial (Baker, 1965), is inadequate to fill the need. Thus, much of the literature available is concerned with the projection or estimation of initial entry needs.

THE EXTENT OF ACTUAL INITIAL ENTRY

Little exists to indicate the actual amount of initial entry. However, before proceeding with a review of the literature on initial entry needs, we might note the few figures available. Baker (1965) in a review of the Bureau of Labor Statistics studies of 1950 and 1960 and a parallel survey by the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) found a 42 percent increase in the number of workers in social welfare positions during this 10-year period. Approximately 74,000 had been in the field in 1950, and 105,000 workers were counted in 1960. If 31,000 (105,000 - 74,000) can be taken as a lower bound estimate of the number entering the field during the 10-year period (lower bound since it does not take into account those who have left the field), and if possible changes in SWRS subfields included in the later sample are ignored, then 3,100 new workers entered the social welfare field per year in the 1950's. Furthermore, a majority of these were concentrated in urban areas, were caseworkers, and were females.

Stamm (1969) noted an 80 percent rise in NASW membership during period 1961-1968 from approximately 28,000 to 50,000-plus members. Again, most were concentrated in urban areas, most were female, and most were caseworkers (if in direct service). Blacks were underrepresented in the sample.

In another survey, this one of graduates of schools of social work in 1967, Stamm (1968) offers results which may perhaps be more relevant for determining recent trends, since the students are a more recent group of entrants than those included in the studies discussed above. The figures offered generally confirm the results presented above and suggest that such trends will continue. Thus, the number of graduates of schools of social work increased 70 percent from 1963 to 1967, from about 2,500 to over 4,200*, and females and caseworkers

* By 1969, the number had increased to over 5,000 (Reichert, 1970).

predominated in the sample. This survey also revealed that males were more likely than females to major in community organization (CO). Furthermore, a majority of the graduates had prior social work experience, so that entry into the social welfare field is not typically made by enrolling in a graduate school.

Lowy (1968a) also notes a fairly large increase in the number of workers in the family service field; there was a gain of 65 percent over 10 years (1957-1967), from just under 2,500 to about 4,100. Interestingly, the number of part-time workers (over 80 percent of whom were women) had grown at even faster pace, 300 percent over the 10-year period.

In rehabilitation, 400 to 640 (depending upon the source) graduates are turned out by the graduate schools each year (James, 1967; Sieracki, 1968).

It is evident that the SWRS field has grown markedly. However, it is also apparent that the extent of *overall* initial entry has not really been measured, much less the amount of entry into the various subfields. This is because, as noted previously, the above figures do not reflect either how many of the additional workers are new as opposed to experienced (in the case of numbers of graduates of schools of social work) or how many workers left the field (in the case of differences in number of workers from one point in time to another).

Let us now consider the various estimates or projections of how many additional new workers are needed at present and in the future.

ESTIMATES OF PRESENT AND FUTURE MANPOWER NEEDS

In corrections, Sigurdson (1969) has estimated that 16,600 workers are needed in probation and parole; by 1970, 11,000 more workers will be needed for "children adjudicated delinquent" (Robertson, 1967). Phillips (1969) has reproduced estimates which hold that triple the present number of field and institutional personnel will be needed by 1975 in the juvenile field, ten times the present number in the adult field.

Services for the aged also are seen to require vastly more manpower, especially trained manpower, now and in the future. The Special Committee on Aging (1969) reports that 20 million persons are over 65 now, and upwards of 23 million such individuals will need care by 1980. In 1969, according to this report, the elderly had many unmet needs, since most programs were faced with manpower shortages. In that year there were about 300,000 workers serving the aged, 10 to 20 percent of whom had professional training. By 1980, with expanding services, 600,000 to 900,000 trained workers will be needed. Robertson (1967) foresaw a need by 1970 for one specialist in social work services for the aged for each state and county, which would require an additional 3,200 trained workers. Further, Maull et al. (1965) noted that 140,000 citizens of New York State reach age 65 each year and will need comprehensive services.

Child welfare offers another case in point. Schlosser (1969) has noted the shortage of trained personnel in child welfare. A Child Welfare League article

(1970) indicates that the prospects are that shortages will continue, since, in its summary of the report of the Joint Commission on Mental Health, this article noted that the comprehensiveness of services should presumably be greatly expanded. For example, the Commission recommended the establishment of an independent child advocacy system as well as comprehensive services to children from birth to age 24. Stone's (1967) survey of 336 public and private foster care agencies also gives evidence of critical manpower shortages. In a more carefully reasoned attempt at estimating child welfare manpower needs, Hylton (1966), who based her figures on the maintenance of present levels of service delivery, foresaw that 13,037 available positions would exist for professional staff in 1965, 14,250 in 1970, and 15,499 in 1975. Other figures in the child welfare field are presented by Robertson (1967), who saw an immediate need for 1,200 trained social workers to aid counties who had none; by Adler and Trobe (1968) who estimated that 19,400 workers would be needed in public child welfare by 1970 (5,000 more than the estimate by Hylton, whose figure included directors, supervisors, consultants, and specialists, in addition to workers); and by Glover and Reid (1964), who foresaw a need of 20,000 in public child welfare by 1975 (only 600 more in the five years from the time of the Adler and Trobe estimate for 1970!).

In public assistance agencies, Mushkin and Harris (1965), noted an acute manpower shortage. By law, to qualify for federal funds, each worker's caseload could not exceed 60; only six states met this standard. Mushkin and Harris estimated that 50,000 more caseworkers would be needed in 1970, 30,000 of whom should have professional training. As of 1960, according to these writers, only 1 percent of public assistance caseworkers had any professional training; thus, the ratio of trained caseworkers to clients was 1/23,000. Maull et al. (1965) and the influential Moreland Commission (1963), both reporting on public assistance in New York State, indicated that more manpower was needed. Maull's group stated that 1,200 babies are born to welfare clients each month.

Robertson (1967) noted that 95,000 social workers would be required by 1970 in public family welfare programs, one-third of whom should have professional education. The Family Service Association in the private sector projected that an additional 1,100 were needed by 1970–4,500 in all (Robertson, 1967).

As for rehabilitation, Steinberg et al. (1969) presented the following figures for three categories of personnel:

	Personnel then in field	*Needed by 1975*
Occupational therapists	7,200	54,000
Speech pathologists and audiologists	13,000	29,000
Physical therapists	12,000	54,000

Moreover, Martz (1970) points out that, should the new Family Assistance Program be approved, the emphasis on vocational rehabilitation would be increased greatly and the number of jobs would grow. As it is now, 2,000 new counselors are needed annually, in contrast with 640 that are being turned out per year (Sieracki, 1968). That manpower is in short supply is the basic impetus behind the work of Sussman and Haug (1970b). However, ABT Associates (1970) noted that regional offices of the Rehabilitation Services Administration have been cutting back on staff.* James (1967) stated that: 15,000 physical therapists were needed whereas 10,000 were then in the field; 12,000 occupational therapists were needed, as against 7,500 in the field. Whereas 4,000 new graduates a year in both these fields were necessary, 400 were turned out.

Other SWRS fields are likewise short of manpower. An additional 17,000 school social workers were seen to be needed by 1970, and 5,000 in mental health, 4,000 of these in community mental health centers (Robertson, 1967). The picture of community mental health in the view of Levenson et. al. (1969) is essentially similar. They saw a need for 3,861 social workers in the field by the end of 1970. The ratio of existing staff to needed staff was computed by Levenson et al. to be about 1:5 (cf. Wheeler, 1966). For public health, Doster (1970) reported that 8 percent of the positions at local health departments were vacant. Over 50 percent of these had been unfilled for two years or more. Although the number of nurses in public health has more than doubled since 1938, health needs seem to have outrun this growth. Furthermore, the problem is exacerbated because 23,000 nurses (presumably in settings of all kinds) leave the field each year (James, 1967).

Finally, there are the general estimates of the total number of social workers thought to be needed in all fields:

> 44,500 professionally educated social workers needed by 1970 (Boehm, 1966)
>
> More than 12,000 unfilled vacancies available for qualified social workers (Lyndon Johnson, 1966)
>
> 100,000 more fully trained social workers needed by 1970 (Robertson, 1967)
>
> 10,000 jobs with funds allocated left vacant in 1963 (Ferguson, 1965).

ADEQUACY OF FORMAL TRAINING FACILITIES FOR COPING WITH MANPOWER NEEDS

Reichert (1970) points out that professional training facilities have expanded in response to the increased need for trained manpower. The number of schools of social work grew by better than 20 percent, from 56 to 67, between 1959 and 1969. During this same 10-year period, the number of MSW's turned

* With regard to the utilization of other than SWRS professionals (conventionally speaking) in rehabilitation, Vineberg's paper (1970) on rehabilitation psychologists is quite informative.

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out per year increased from 1,897 to 5,060, the number of DSW's from 26 to 89. In 1965, Reichert reports, 232 colleges and universities offered defined bachelor of social work programs and an additional 297 offered social work courses in which 20,000 students were involved. In addition, there were 10-15,000 social workers enrolled in continuing education. As of 1968, 50 two-year colleges served 4,000 students in programs related to social work. As for rehabilitation, 324 students in 38 graduate schools were scheduled to attain a master's degree in 1965 (Sussman and Haug, 1968), while Sieracki (1968) reports the figure to be 640 per year.

On the other hand, the capacities of the 72 schools of social work (Lowenberg and Shinn's (1969) figure) and the 38 graduate rehabilitation training facilities were nowhere near the presumed level of need for trained workers. As Adler and Trobe (1968) relate, schools of social work in New York State, where there were 4,600 job vacancies in 1966 for professionally trained social workers, will accept only one in six applicants (a State Communities Aid Association report (1967) makes this figure one in three). A total of 630 MSW's graduated in the state in 1966 (State Communities Aid Association, 1967). Indeed the entire capacity of schools of social work in New York State was 1,615, only about one-third of the number of job vacancies available. Boehm's (1966) figures are even more dramatic, for he notes that the number of social workers needed by 1970 exceeds the combined annual output of all schools of social work over the past decade (cf. Mushkin and Harris, 1965). With regard to rehabilitation, according to Sieracki (1968) the 640 graduates per year does not come near the 2,000 new counselors needed annually. Furthermore, there is also such a shortage of qualified teachers for schools of social work that 155 teaching appointments were unfilled in 1968 (Loewenberg and Shinn, 1969).

What are the chances that the graduate schools can meet the future shortages which may arise, when the economy strengthens? If one subscribes to the exploratory findings of Cooper and Company (1970), who studied the cost and output of graduate social work education, the chances seem slim. According to that report, there is no concept of efficiency in schools of social work. For example, they do not directly consider such questions as: Does it matter if classes are small and how small? How can the largest number of students be trained for the least amount of money? How can we best spend resources on recruiting teachers and students? Under these conditions, which are really no different in other professions, it would be impossible to plan rationally for future expansion to meet anticipated shortages. (At any rate, estimates of costs per student per year by Cooper and Company are $4,200 - $5,900 if overhead and plant allowance costs are included.)

Furthermore, with the rather small number of DSW's being turned out, the expansion ceiling for schools of social work is quite low (Loewenberg and Shinn, 1969), for DSW's are a most preferred source for faculty appointments (National Commission for Social Work Careers, 1968). Also, there is apparently a

lack of coordination, since, according to Brigham (1968), some schools are turning away qualified people, while others have open positions to fill.

Another finding reported by Cooper and Company (1970)–that very few students from other schools and departments take social work courses–speaks quite poorly for either the quality of course offerings at the four schools of social work in their sample or for the "advertising" capabilities of these schools. Of course, it must be noted that this finding might also be due to the lack of space in these schools, but few new converts to the SWRS field may result when schools of social work fail to attract college and graduate students who are enrolled in other programs.

FACTORS INFLUENCING LABOR MARKET STATISTICS

Before proceeding further, it might be worthwhile to take a step back and assess the numbers presented above, which are discrepant in some cases.

Scotch (1969) in an interesting discussion gives the impression that from an economic point of view the shortage of personnel cited is likely to be an overestimate. Why? Because "true" shortage is the difference between the actual supply of manpower and that which is possible (not necessarily that which is needed), given the existing professional (educational) structure and the actual or funded level of demand for services and manpower in health and all other fields. In light of this, Ginzberg's (1967) notion that manpower shortages (in the Public Health Service, specifically) are in part created by appropriating funds faster than people can be trained is quite instructive, as the apparent evanescence of the shortage during the present economic recession attests. Biegel (1970) found that 50 percent of positions requested in community mental health were left unfilled. Weber in 1968 offered the perspective that at times the shortage of skilled labor is a national, not just an SWRS problem, so that manpower shortages in SWRS must be balanced against shortages in other fields, which is a base rate problem.

Also, one statistic culled from Doster (1970) showed that 40 percent of job vacancies in public health were unfilled for two years or more. Professor Bruno Stein, in a personal communication, has suggested that jobs vacant for inordinately long periods of time may conceivably represent "fancied" rather than real vacancies.

Another sign that the manpower shortage is not so critical as estimates would lead one to believe is that "raiding" of other sources of manpower, such as psychologists, has not occurred. Vineberg (1970), for example, found that very few openings for rehabilitation psychologists were available in corrections (which seems rather short of qualified people), based on a review of solicitations in professional journals. Are psychologists overqualified for the jobs available? Perhaps, but not in the light of Glaser's (1966) assertion that, with corrections tending more toward treatment than to mere custodial and punitive measures,

more individuals are needed who believe in the desirability of carefully experimenting with new, research-supported methods.

More generally, there are two sources of actual shortages: changes in supply and demand which have not been adjusted to; or monopoloid tendencies within the occupation (Hiestand, 1966*). The latter seems quite applicable to the "gatekeepers" of the profession, according to Scotch (1969), for the number of professionals trained depends upon the number and functional capacities of schools of social work. Few alternatives to professional preparation in graduate schools have had wide circulation, much less acceptance.

Behind the perhaps exaggerated—or at least unspecific—demands for more manpower, demands which have been answered recently by cutbacks on vacancies and present manpower (*New York Times,* 20 April 1971), may be various pressures for field-wide growth. Starbuck's (1965) excellent treatment can be used for this discussion of some motives for possibly excessive demands for more manpower in the SWRS field. Although they are confined to the growth of organizations, these motives seem easily translatable to a set of organizations which share a common set of goals or program emphases. To quote Starbuck:

> Increased organizational size may be a goal itself, in at least two senses. First, growth may be valued as a symbol of achievement. Growth is often difficult to accomplish, both because of intra-organizational stresses which must be met and because of external forces which must be overcome. The obstacles to growth are recognized by society, and the members of an organization which has successfully expanded are awarded prestige and admiration, particularly those members who are seen as being instrumental in the expansion process. These people also receive internal rewards in the form of feelings of success and pride in their achievement. Second, increased size may be an operational goal, a benchmark for progress. The size of an organization has characteristics which recommend it as an operational goal: It is easily measured and it is easy to talk about. However, the use of size as an operational goal does not necessarily mean that increases in size per se are valued. There is usually an implicit assumption that size is correlated with the attainment of goals which have more basic relevance to the organization's purpose or which are more immediately of interest to some subunit of the organizational membership. (p. 454.)

In addition, as Reichert (1970) pointed out, further pressures for growth have been brought to bear because there has been a recognition of the plight of the disadvantaged groups by those within the field (as well, we might add, as those without). This recognition has been evidenced by legislation which was designed to provide new and more comprehensive services and which had the effect of creating many new jobs. For example, *The American Journal of Public Health* in 1967 devoted an entire issue (No. 7) to the effects of Medicare legislation, and

* Cited in Scotch, 1969.

many new jobs have arisen from staffing grants for community mental health centers (Levenson and Reff, 1970; Levenson, et al., 1969; Biegel, 1970).

In the face of such motives for growth, it is no accident that the literature is replete with estimates of manpower shortages which may be exaggerated.

CONSEQUENCES OF INITIAL ENTRY

There are several major reasons why it is important to determine the effects of initial entry into a field on other variables. First, on a gross level, it is important for administrators to know what the consequences of their actions are likely to be if they adopt policies designed to stimulate (or lessen) entry into the field. In what ways will the effects be salutary? In what ways will they be negative? Will the possible negative effects be of a type that might be remedied by further administrative action? Or will they be of the kind that the administrators will have to live with?

Secondly, it is important to know what entering a field does to an individual. What does it do to his attitude toward the self? Toward others? Toward his job behavior? These questions are important both from the viewpoint of general societal concern with the nature of individual experience and from the viewpoint of the administrator who might be able to overcome some of the negative effects, if, in fact, such negative experiences occur.

Finally, there is the effect on the clients of social welfare and rehabilitation agencies. Does an increase (or decrease) in agency size have an effect on agency functioning, with all the implications this has for service delivery? For example, do agencies which are consistently increasing in size develop patterns of client assignment so that some clients are always seeing new people? If so, what are the implications? What happens to clients when SWRS manpower is in short supply as contrasted with times when it is in ample supply?

CONSEQUENCES TO CLIENTS, AGENCIES, AND THE FIELD

Despite the importance of the questions listed above, for two of them, the first and the third, there is very little information about the effect of variations in the frequency of initial entry (i.e., its adequacy relative to that needed) on either the agency or on the adequacy of its service delivery as perceived by the client. Much discussion, for example, centers about the theory that an increased utilization of paraprofessionals will lead to better use of professionals (Unkovic and Davis, 1969; Boehm, 1970), as well as to better linkages with the client population (Unkovic and Davis, 1969); but of data there are few. Furthermore, it is conceivable that increased utilization of paraprofessionals may (1) lead to a lower prestige for the field, and/or (2) be less desirable for clients in the case of indigenous paraprofessionals (cf. Speer, 1966). There is little research on which to base choices between these alternatives.

It might be worthwhile to present more specifically some of the available information which bears on these issues. Unkovic and Davis (1969), in a summary of their experiences with a program in Florida designed to utilize volunteers for corrections work, suggest that the use of paraprofessionals had a favorable impact on both clients and professional workers. Clients were benefitted because of similarity of interests and status with the volunteers. Moreover, they were better served because caseloads per worker were reduced. Workers benefitted by a reduction in the amount of paperwork they had to do (see also Boehm, 1970). Similarly, Young and Hamlin (1969), who reported on the use of indigenous paraprofessionals in the Chattanooga-Hamilton County Health Department, found favorable effects on client services and on professionals in the department.

On the other hand, there is some evidence to dispute the theory that paraprofessionals must be drawn from similar social strata or ethnic backgrounds to achieve optimum effects on clients. Speer's (1966) study is a case in point. As part of an exploratory investigation of personnel selection, he found that supervisors gave better ratings to upper-class female day care center workers than to lower-class female workers on effectiveness in dealing with lower-class children. If the possible effects of rater bias can be discounted, this directly contradicts the assumption of better service through similarity between client and worker. In line with this possibility, Davidoff et al. (1969), reporting on a training program for mental health paraprofessionals, assert that the middle-class women enrolled in the program evidently had no difficulty relating to lower-class clients.

As for consequences to the field, it may be noted, in line with the argument of Geis and Cavanagh (1966), that little attention has been given to an open-system conception of SWRS manpower planning. Thus, increased recruitment efforts by one subfield such as corrections may, especially in a tight labor market, deplete the manpower resources of another, such as child welfare. Research is necessary to ascertain the consequences of this fragmentary planning and to allow for whatever remedies are necessary.

CONSEQUENCES TO THE INDIVIDUAL WORKER

The one area where there is research to report concerns the effects of initial entry into the field on the individual himself and here the results seem to be negative in the main. In the nine empirical studies reported in Table 1, the results appear to be that entry into the field of social welfare and/or rehabilitation can lead to such outcomes as:

disillusionment (Shey, 1970);

loss of idealism (Shey, 1970; Varley, 1968; Costin, 1964; Greene et al., 1967); and

loss of interest in staying in the field (Sussman and Haug, 1968; Smits, 1964; Greene et al., 1967).

The recurrence of these consequences is a very serious matter and one to which considerable attention must be paid. Thus, it would seem that research is necessary to determine the conditions in the field which have led to these types of outcomes and what types of remedial measures are possible.

On the other hand, there are positive consequences as well. Thus, entry can lead to increased opportunity for upward mobility (HEW-Division of State Merit Systems, 1968), and to a more satisfying life for many (Cowin, 1970; Young and Hamlin, 1969).

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH INITIAL ENTRY

Our conceptual framework, which was rendered specific to initial entry behavior earlier in this chapter (see Figure 1 and discussion), has in essence two primary aspects:

1. Factors in the person which may operate either by altering occasions (e.g., opportunity may be less for certain ethnic groups) or by affecting choice (e.g., capacity to achieve goals may be less for those of lower ability); and
2. Factors in the environment which may operate either by altering occasion (e.g., availability of jobs) or by affecting a person's perceptions and thereby his choice (e.g., low salaries in a field lead to perceptions of low salaries which may deter some from choosing to enter).

The literature review has been organized in terms of these two classes of factors.

PERSONAL FACTORS IN INITIAL ENTRY

In screening the literature on the determinants of initial entry, the structure of the review was guided, in part, by a desire to ascertain the fruitfulness of our tentative theoretical model and how it would have to be revised, if such revisions proved necessary at this time. In order to evaluate such fruitfulness in the area of individual factors contributing to initial entry into the SWRS field, a number of questions seem worthy of discussion. For example, what differences in personality and motivation exist, or can be found, between those who enter the SWRS field and those who enter other fields? It is clear that differences reflecting varying motivational patterns are predicted by our tentative model, differences which should, to some extent at least, be consonant with perceptions of the kinds of motivational satisfactions offered by SWRS agencies. Based on that aspect of our model which differentiates between a person's ideal value system and the goals which he actually desires to attain, we would also predict that this matching process will not be great in every instance because, at least for some individuals,

Table 1

Summary of Research and Other Studies on Effects of Initial Entry on the Individual Entering the SWRS Field

Investigator	*Basic Research Design*	*Findings*
HEW-Division of State Merit Systems (1968)	Survey of State Employment Security and Public Welfare Agencies N=12,602 caseworkers, 2,951 employment security interviewers	Implies that one benefit of entry into field is opportunity for advancement to jobs at higher levels.
Shey (1970)	Survey of experiences of social work students after entering schools of social work N=320	1) Disillusionment is evident. 2) Idealistic expectations are not matched by reality.
Varley (1968)	Survey of graduates of schools of social work N=85	Different from veterans in the field in that they are more committed to personal involvement.
Costin (1964)	Survey of social work practitioners as opposed to graduate and undergraduate students N=372	Practitioners have higher economic and lower social values than students.
Greene et al. (1967)	Surveyed New York students on their attitudes toward their placement in Jewish Community Service agencies N=31	1) Many students complained the goals of agency were nebulous. 2) Idealistic values played little part in agency planning. 3) Fewer students were interested in a career with these agencies after placement than before placement.
Sussman and Haug (1968)	Survey of rehabilitation students N=324	18 percent of the students surveyed were planning for careers out of the field, and 5 percent were undecided.
Smits (1964)	Survey of job placements of graduates of rehabilitation counseling programs	About 40 percent eventually take jobs outside the field.
Cowin (1970)	Discussion of one agency's experience with the use of paraprofessionals	With accession to a job comes a more meaningful life.
Young and Hamlin (1969)	Summary of experience with indigenous paraprofessionals at one county health department	Employment of indigenous paraprofessionals had a favorable impact on their perquisites and morale.

the level of personal goals which they expect to attain might be quite low relative to their ideal values. Hence, the consonance between their perceptions and descriptions of their own values and goals and those that they perceived could be satisfied by employment in SWRS work might not be very high, even though they have taken employment in the field. It is further predicted by our model that such types of people are identifiable on the basis of such demographic characteristics as the level of self-esteem.

These are the kinds of considerations which our model demands of the literature in the area of individual factors leading to entry into the SWRS field. To the extent that the data were found supportive and these conditions did obtain, then our model could be considered to have achieved some degree of support and thus could be utilized in later empirical research. To the extent that these conditions did not obtain, in that the data were not supportive and/or additional considerations had to be made, then, of course, we would be in a position to see where revisions in the model would be necessary.

The research literature relevant to these questions is listed and summarized in Table 2.

In general, we would conclude from the literature there summarized that significant support is indicated for the predictions generated from our model. Furthermore, it would also appear that, for the most part, those research studies which do not indicate support for our approach are irrelevant and not germane to it, rather than being contraindicative. Our reasons for these conclusions are based on the following considerations:

1. There are a significant number of studies which indicate clearly that there are demonstrable differences between people who enter the SWRS field and those who enter other fields of work (*cf.* Pins, 1963; Stamm, 1968; L. Harmon, 1969; Bishop, 1958; Baker, 1965; Lowy; 1968a; Gockel, 1966; McCornack and Kidneigh, 1954; Walther et al., 1970; Varley, 1966; Holland et al., 1970; Sussman and Haug, 1967a, 1968; Jaques and Linkowski, 1968; Dole et al., 1969; Astin and Nichols, 1964; Rosenberg, 1957; Lauffer, 1969). Furthermore, there are significantly different characteristics in the people entering subfields within the SWRS field (Lauffer, 1969; Varley, 1966; Pins, 1963; Stamm, 1968; Baker, 1965). These differences are delineated in detail later in this section.

2. The SWRS field is perceived differently than are other fields. As a case in point, Kassarjian and Kassarjian (1965) found that SWRS is perceived as an other-directed occupation rather than an inner-directed one, as compared for example, to the chemistry field

3. In a general sense, there is a considerable amount of congruence between the characteristics a person sees in himself and the characteristics he sees as possible of being satisfied in the occupation he has chosen to enter (Greenhaus, 1971; Vroom, 1964; Korman, 1966, 1967a, 1969).

Table 2

Summary of Research and Other Studies on Personal Factors in Initial Entry

I. Studies and articles on other than SWRS personnel or potential SWRS personnel

Investigator	*Basic Research Design*	*Findings*
Greenhaus (1971)	Tested the degree to which self-esteem moderated the relationship between one's value system and the kinds of values which could be satisfied in one's chosen occupation. N=377	Found some support for the conclusion that persons with high self-esteem look to their own needs and attributes in choosing an occupation, while those with low self-esteem look to external ones.
Vroom (1964, p. 74)	Questionnaire study of similarity between person's self-perception, perception of preferred jobs, and level of self-esteem. N=82	The higher the self-esteem, the higher the congruence between a person's self-perceived characteristics and the jobs he preferred to enter.
Korman (1966, 1967a, 1969)	Questionnaire studies relating congruence between self-perceived characteristics and characteristics of jobs chosen as a function of level of self-esteem. 1966 N=301 1967a N=126 1969 N=4 separate samples totaling 407	All studies supported the proposition that those high in self-esteem are more likely to choose characteristics matching their self-perceived characteristics (goals and values) than those low in self-esteem.

II. Studies and articles which include both present and potential SWRS personnel and others

L. Harmon (1969)	Study of college freshmen women as to kinds of career which they have considered. N=551	1) Social work very high in preference. 2) Women preferring social work differ significantly from those preferring medical technology.
Dole et al. (1969)	Studied "beliefs on human nature" held by rehabilitation counseling students, clinical psychology, and counseling psychology students, and the beliefs their program directors would like them to have. N=176	1) All groups neutral or slightly positive on trustworthiness, willpower, altruism, independence, and variability beliefs. 2) All views in line with desires of program directors.

Table 2—(continued)

Investigator	*Basic Research Design*	*Findings*
Astin and Nichols (1964)	Survey of high-ability college students on their vocational choices and their life goals. N=5,495	1) Those choosing different careers differed in the life goals they considered important. 2) None of 3,830 males and 41 of 1,665 females chose social work as career.
Kassarjian and Kassarjian (1965)	Survey of how social work and rehabilitation work are perceived, relative to other fields of work. N=100	Found that social work and rehabilitation tend to be perceived as "other-directed" occupations.
Walther et al. (1970)	Questionnaire study of characteristics of social workers and policemen. N=488 social work students. 100 social workers, 100 policemen	1) Positive feelings toward social service, social interaction, professional standards and participative rather than directive roles among social workers. 2) Negative feelings toward status symbols, intellectual achievement, competitiveness, and systematic procedures among social workers.
Holland et al. (1970)	Discussion of studies in which groups of occupational incumbents or aspirants classify lists of occupations according to preferences.	Respondents had distinct patterns of preferences which distinguished them from other occupational groups.
Rosenberg (1957)	Interviews of 3,905 college students to determine relationship between values and occupational choice. N=3,905	Students choosing social work as a career were "people-oriented" but not "extrinsic-reward-oriented."
III. Studies and articles which include only SWRS personnel		
Pins (1963)	Survey of graduate social work students. N=2,771	1) More females (57 percent) than males. 2) Blacks 13 percent of sample. 3) 44 percent had public college backgrounds; 51 percent private. 4) Undergraduate grade point averages average B-. 5) 62 percent social science majors. 6) 6 percent social work undergraduate majors. 7) Most made choices relatively late in college careers or after trying another career first.

Table 2—(continued)

Investigator	*Basic Research Design*	*Findings*
Pins (1963) (continued)		8) Most important reasons for choosing social work were interest, contribution to society, and working with people. 9) Least important reasons were money, prestige, and just being offered a job. 10) Males were more likely to choose community organization (CO) and group work than females. 11) Students in casework older. 12) CO people enjoy working with people less and are more materialistic. 13) Group work students make choices earlier than CO students. 14) Jews over-represented in sample compared to their distribution in general population. 15) Socio-economic backgrounds were lower than the backgrounds of graduate students in other areas. 16) Percent of family in field less than percent of family in respective field for other areas of graduate study. 17) Women in field have higher socio-economic backgrounds than men. 18) 83 percent of the sample had had prior direct work experience in social work or similar activity. 19) Parents gave less support to SWRS students than students in other fields and supported males more than females. 20) Females supported more by peers than males. 21) More Jews in group work and fewer in CO.

Table 2–(continued)

Investigator	*Basic Research Design*	*Findings*
Lauffer (1969)	Survey of students in schools of social work. N=2,766	1) Undergraduate averages midway between "medium" and "low." 2) Females 61.1 percent. 3) Community organization (CO) students made their career choices later; blacks and males overrepresented in this area. 4) Large majority were from middle-class backgrounds or lower.
Stamm (1968)	Survey of 1967 social work graduates. N=1,937	1) Females 62 percent. 2) Females more likely to go straight to graduate school; males work and then go to graduate school. 3) Males more interested in doctorate, females in professional training. 4) 38 percent no prior social work experience. 5) Casework most popular specialty (75 percent, as in 1963). 6) Males more likely to go to CO. 7) More people going into government agencies.
Speer (1966)	Reported an exploratory attempt to use psychological measures (including the MMPI, the Minnesota Teacher Aptitude Survey, and Biographical Data) as a method for screening out unqualified employees in day care centers. N=37	Significant relationships found, but no cross-validation. Those rated higher were more feminine, more extroverted, widowed or divorced, and of upper-class origin.
Mordock and Platt (1969)	Related scores on authoritarianism to employment competency in day care centers. N=308	Those rated higher were less authoritarian.
Podell (1967a)	Related scores on the New York City civil service test to the likelihood of being hired by the various bureaus of the Department of Welfare and to supervisory evaluations. N=2,300	No relationship between supervisory evaluation and test score. Those assigned to Public Assistance were less qualified than those assigned to Child Welfare.

Table 2—(continued)

Investigator	*Basic Research Design*	*Findings*
HEW-Division of State Merit Systems (1966)	Related examination scores to likelihood of being hired. N=12,866 caseworkers, 2,977 employment security interviewers	Those hired tended to come from the lowest third of the list.
Kadushin (1958a)	Discussion article based on reading of literature.	1) Social work is generally a second career choice. 2) Students from low socio-economic backgrounds and blacks see the field as a way to get ahead.
Bishop (1958)	Survey of 1935-54 graduates of social work at University of Pennsylvania. N=886	1) 78 percent female. 2) Private agencies preferred to public agencies.
Baker (1965)	Summary of surveys on social work personnel (all personnel, not just MSW's).	1) 60 percent female; males younger 2) More professional personnel in medical and psychiatric work. Other areas had less professional personnel.
Lowy (1968a)	Survey of all social work personnel in Family Service Association of America Agencies. N=4,118	1) 76 percent female. 2) Males younger. 3) Males more fully trained.
Gockel (1966)	Questionnaire study of prospective social workers. N=40,000 college seniors on 135 campuses, including 990 seniors choosing social work.	Social workers place high value on service. They show lack of interest in intellectual jobs, monetary reward, and opportunity for independent work.
McCornack and Kidneigh (1959)	Administered Strong Vocational Interest Blank to a sample of members of the American Association of Social Workers. N=1,400	1) General findings indicated preferences for working with people, verbal activities, and a dislike for conservative people. 2) Males showed a dislike for physical science and athletic men. 3) Females showed a dislike for scientific affairs, athletic women, selling, and clerical activities.

Table 2–(continued)

Investigator	*Basic Research Design*	*Findings*
Varley (1966)	Questionnaire study of characteristics of different types of social workers. N=576	1) All reflected moderate commitment to service ideal. 2) Caseworkers and group workers less service-oriented than community organization (CO) people. 3) Recent MSW's most service-oriented.
Sussman and Haug (1967a, 1968)	Continuing surveys of the characteristics of rehabilitation counselors. N=324 students, 606 counselors	1) Counselors were 80.2 percent males (1965). 2) Field may be becoming less male since, as of 1965, students were only 67.9 percent male. (see also Jaques and Linkowski below). 3) Undergraduate Grade Point Average about B-. 4) Entered field because of interest, lack of success with other areas, early retirement, or disenchantment with other work. 5) Close previous experience with disability (72 percent self, 49 percent close relatives) 6) Most came from middle-class backgrounds or lower. 7) Most became aware of field relatively late. 8) 68 percent worked at something else before entering field.
Jaques and Linkowski (1968)	Survey of the characteristics of rehabilitation counselors. N=385	1) Field predominantly male (87.5 percent males in 1957). 2) Individuals are upwardly mobile.
McGowan and Porter (1967)	Survey of 90 public rehabilitation agencies (vocational). N=2,743	1) 85.8 percent male. 2) 56 percent have BA's; 40 percent have MA's.
DiMichael (1949b)	Questionnaire study on characteristics distinguishing vocational rehabilitation counselors from the general population. N=146	Rehabilitation counselors were higher on Kuder Interest Scales - Social Service, Persuasive, and Literary - than the general population.

4. However, the general degree of congruence between a person's goals and the goals he expects to satisfy in his vocational choice is greater for those high in self-esteem than for those low on this variable (Greenhaus, 1971; Vroom, 1964; Korman, 1966, 1967a, 1969). This finding is predicted by our model which states that vocational choice involves the implementing of goals at a level below that which is "ideal" for given individuals, and that some people have a higher level of effective goal implementation than others. Personal characteristics other than self-esteem for predicting such a tendency have apparently not been researched thoroughly.

5. Certain demographic characteristics which may have affected either occasion or choice are related to initial entry into the SWRS field. For example, Pins (1963) found that Jews were overrepresented in the field as compared to the general population. Also Lauffer's (1969) data indicate that most social welfare graduate students come from middle- or lower-class backgrounds.

The general pattern of these findings, then, seems to indicate quite clearly that the process of vocational choice may be viewed, in part, as the seeking out of a social role which is perceived to be capable of satisfying the goals which one expects to implement in his work behavior. These goals are then matched with the perceptions the individual has of various occupational fields, and initial entry is a function of this matching process. The extent to which a person will choose to enter an occupation which is congruent with his goals and those he expects to satisfy in a given field is determined by his level of self-esteem; those higher in self-esteem will be more likely to choose a field in which they fit well. Finally, certain demographic characteristics are associated with initial entry, although it is not entirely clear as to whether they affect occupational choice or occasion for entry.

There are also studies listed in Table 2 which do not bear directly on our conceptual framework but are not inconsistent with it and are worthy of some comment. We refer in particular to those of Podell (1967a) and of the HEW–Division of State Merit Systems (1966). The latter study found a tendency for agencies to hire applicants whose quality (in terms of civil service test scores) was on the low side. Podell found both that those assigned to the Bureau of Public Assistance were less qualified than those assigned to the Bureau of Child Welfare and that that civil service test scores did not relate to supervisory evaluations. In addition to the negative implications of such trends for the future of the field, it may be useful to note in line with our framework that entry of lower-ability workers is consistent with the low prestige of the field in general.

At this point, let us trace more specifically the characteristics shared by individuals who choose a career in the SWRS field.

Goals and Expectations

As Table 2 shows, Pins (1963) found that the most important reasons for choosing a career in social welfare were interest in working with and helping people and in making a contribution to society. Of lesser importance were such goals as money or prestige. However, the latter goals may have more influence for students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (cf. Kadushin, 1958a) and/or for students who choose different majors. In Pins' sample, those specializing in community organization are evidently more interested in attaining material goals than those specializing in casework. Gockel (1966) found that social workers place a high value on service and a low value on monetary rewards. In addition, according to this investigator, they are uninterested in intellectual jobs and opportunity for independent work.

Similarly, in the area of rehabilitation, DiMichael (1949) found that vocational counselors are high in their social service interests relative to the total population.

These studies in conjunction with several others (Dole et al., 1969; Sussman and Haug, 1967a, 1967b, 1968; McCornack and Kidneigh, 1954; Walther et al., 1970; Varley, 1966) all offer a consistent picture of the high level of importance attached to the altruistic goals of social service to others and to society. Furthermore, social interaction and cooperation per se seem valued as opposed to independent intellectual tasks, as well as tasks which are competitive.

The extent to which SWRS workers are influenced by the goals of advancement and material well-being is indeterminate at this point. It seems that these goals are important for some workers (Kadushin, 1958a; Jaques and Linkowski, 1968). It should be noted that all the findings reported above are based on self reports of individuals already in the field. This suggests that social desirability bias may have affected their responses. Furthermore, their goals may have been modified in a direction consistent with those emphasized in the field.

Demographic Data

Psychometric Data

Aside from the results reported above, which were derived from scores on measures of career interests such as the Kuder inventory, there has been little systematic work in terms of personality and ability differences based on some psychometric measure (i.e., psychological test) between SWRS entrants and others.

With respect to personality variables, Walther et al. (1970), in a comparison of social workers with policemen, found social workers less competitive. Dole et al. (1969) found little difference between students in rehabilitation counseling, clinical psychology, and counseling psychology in their beliefs about human nature. All groups were neutral or slightly positive in the beliefs that people are trustworthy, altruistic, independent, and variable.

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Mordock and Platt (1969) studied females enrolled in a child care training program. On the basis of the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey, these individuals were higher in social orientation than the total population. Also, their scores on another measure showed them to be more strict and authoritarian in their attitudes toward child-rearing than the total population.

With respect to ability, Astin and Nichols found that not one of 3,830 male finalists in the National Merit Examination competition chose social work; and only 41 of 1,660 female finalists made this choice. A study by the HEW-Division of State Merit Systems (1966) suggests that those who finally take a job in a public welfare agency are likely to have scored lower on civil service examinations than those not taking a job

Biographical Data

In contrast to the scarcity of psychometric data, the literature is replete with information on the background characteristics of those who enter the SWRS field, as Table 2 demonstrates. Rather than repeat the entire range of findings reported in that table, we shall draw a composite picture of those who have entered the field. In virtually all instances these data are derived from individuals who have already entered the field or who are preparing for a master's degree.

Social welfare workers are likely to be: female; from urban backgrounds; of lower-middle-class origin; of moderate academic achievement (B- or C+ undergraduate grade point averages); upward mobile; less than fully professionally trained; and in the field after having considered or tried another career first. However, this picture is qualified somewhat, depending on the particular specialty pursued. Community organizers, for example, are more likely to be male.

Rehabilitation workers are likely to: be males; come from lower-middle-class backgrounds; have worked in other fields before rehabilitation; be upward mobile; have had previous experience with disability; have B- undergraduate grade point averages.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IN INITIAL ENTRY

Characteristics of the Field

The characteristics of the field can operate to cause initial entry in two ways, according to our model. They may affect occasion, as when the number of available jobs is great; and they may affect choice, as when field-wide recruitment efforts provide job information to prospective workers. Relevant literature has been summarized in Table 3, which also contains studies of the organizational antecedents to be reviewed later.

The Job Market (Occasion)

No studies were located which have directly assessed the extent to which the job market has increased or decreased initial entry of SWRS personnel. However, labor economists have demonstrated that among other professional groups such a link is distinctly probable (Bumas, 1967). On the other hand, it is less clear as to what the mechanism is through which job availability leads to increased numbers of workers entering a field. Older theories placed salary in the primary role. Thus it was felt that differences in labor supply and demand led to differences in salary levels, which in turn caused shifts in manpower entry levels. Bumas (1967) has studied the question carefully (see the summary in Table 3) and has determined that for engineers during the period 1950-1965, salary was not related to amount of entry. This finding he believed was due to the fact that employment opportunities are volatile and effectively communicated in the labor market information network via the press and personal contacts. Such is not the case for salaries. Evidently, according to Bumas, manpower shortages themselves are sufficient to attract new manpower.

With regard to the extant literature as summarized in Table 3 we may speculate, in view of the large number of articles reviewed above on manpower shortages (see the section—Patterns of Entry or Lack of Entry into the Field), that a similar pattern has occurred in the SWRS field, for the number of new entries has apparently grown markedly (Baker, 1965; Stamm, 1968, 1969). However, salary levels cannot be discounted as an influence on this growth of manpower, since they have risen as well (Baker, 1965; Stamm, 1969). Perhaps for a profession such as SWRS, which is not of high prestige as compared with others (Kadushin, 1958b), the question of salary takes on greater importance.

Fieldwide Recruitment Patterns (Choice)

The field has attempted to cope with manpower shortages in a number of ways. First, fieldwide recruitment efforts were crystallized in the social welfare field by the establishment of the National Commission for Social Work Careers. This organization, by means of wide dissemination of information (NCSWC, 1968, 1969a, 1969b), has evidently been successful in attracting new workers (Pins, 1963; Stamm, 1968). However, the extent of its influence has never really been assessed directly. Nor has the efficacy of its methods been investigated. A great deal of research is needed in this area. The most effective technique in attracting new workers, based on Pins' (1963) data is the provision of satisfying short-term experiences such as summer jobs or volunteer work. (See Table 3.)

The field has been much concerned over the issue of professionalization (Greenwood, 1957), perhaps because of its impact on occupational prestige (cf. Kadushin, 1958b). Thus, recruitment efforts seem geared not only to disseminating information but also to promoting a professional image. Fieldwide

Table 3

Summary of Research and Other Studies on Field and Organizational Factors in Initial Entry

I. Studies and Articles on Other than SWRS Personnel

Investigator	*Basic Research Design*	*Findings*
Bumas (1967)	Measured changes in supply of engineers and changes in salary levels.	Supply of engineers increased without salary increases. Apparently supply of jobs alone, without salary increases, will stimulate movement into field.
Life Insurance Agency Management Association (1964)	Attempted to determine the characteristics of life insurance agencies whose job offers were accepted by applicants as opposed to those whose job offers were turned down. A questionnaire methodology was used. N=1,534	Key factors seemed to be impressions created by agency staff, training programs, and the reputation of the company.
Richardson (1966)	Experimental study using hypothetical job offers and varying such possible job incentives as location, salary, type of work, and size of company. N=113	All factors had significant effects on hypothetical job choice.
Dunteman (1966a)	Investigated among other things the attractiveness of large vs. small firms to job seekers. N=234 industrial manufacturing organizations	Large more attractive than small, possibly due to greater fringe benefits.
Levinson (1970)	Discussion article.	Claims that prospective business managers will not enter organizations where they will be used as "tools" or where their personal needs will not be considered.

II. Studies and Articles which Include Only SWRS Personnel

Baker (1965)	Review of surveys of social welfare personnel.	1) Proportion of court social workers having full professional training lower than in any other field except for public assistance. 2) Number of workers increased 42 percent, 1950-60, while salaries rose 76 percent.

Table 3–(continued)

Investigator	*Basic Research Design*	*Findings*
Bishop (1958)	Survey of graduates of the University of Pennsylvania School of social work and review of other studies. N=886	Public agencies less attractive than private.
Stamm (1968, 1969)	Surveys of graduates of schools of social work and NASW members. 1968 N=1,937 graduates 1969 N=2,857 NASW members	1) As salaries increased, more people apparently entered public agencies. 2) Numbers of school of social work graduates and NASW members have increased 70 percent from 1963 to 1967 and 80 percent from 1961 to 1968 respectively. 3) Salaries of NASW members increased approximately 60 percent between 1961 and 1968. 4) 95 percent of 1967 graduates received financial aid.
Shapiro (1968)	Discussion of why the Jewish Community Service has lost job attractiveness for new entries into field.	Suggests it is due to the business-like image being projected by the JCS.
Geis and Cavanagh (1966)	Survey of correctional agency administrators as to best methods of recruiting and how to attract people into field. N=24	Salary and benefits seen as most important by administrators. "Word of mouth" and "grapevine" are seen as best method of recruiting.
Brodsky (1966)	Discussion based on experience of best recruiting methods for homemakers in a child welfare agency.	Best procedure seemed to be "word of mouth."
Pins (1963)	Survey of graduate social work students. N=2,771	1) Most significant influence on choosing social work as a career was being exposed to previous experiences with social agency in the field. 2) Less important, but having some influence, were acquaintances in the field, college courses, and instructors; guidance programs and receiving social services had least influence.

Table 3–(continued)

Investigator	*Basic Research Design*	*Findings*
Pins (1963) (continued)		3) Recruitment efforts by the field have apparently had some influence. 4) Organizational experience of community organization (CO) and group work students more important in influencing choice than experiences of case-workers.
Polansky et al. (1953)	Had professional social workers rank different professions. N=75	1) Social work is ranked low among professions, even by social workers themselves. 2) Income of social workers significantly lower than that of other professions.
White (1955)	Had graduates of social work school rate the prestige of the field relative to other areas. N=53	In general, tended to rate the field about equal to that of field requiring BA degree, even though MSW is necessary for professional status in social work.
Kadushin (1958b)	Review of literature on prestige of social work profession.	1) Social work high in prestige among occupations, but low when compared to professions. 2) Social work higher in prestige for females, blacks, and middle-class individuals.
Ehrle (1969); ABT Associates (1970)	Discussion of "image" of rehabilitation counseling.	Both argue image is "fuzzy" and "unclear."
Sussman and Haug (1968)	Survey of 324 rehabilitation counseling graduate students in 38 graduate schools. N=324	1) 83 percent receive at least partial support from the VRA. 2) 17 percent indicated that availability of the VRA grant influenced them to enter rehabilitation.
Sussman and Haug (1970b)	Proposal for continuation of research program.	Major questions to be addressed include: 1) Background variables associated with entry of "new" and "second" careerists. 2) Effect on geographic mobility (willingness to relocate) of various factors; and 3) Relevance of social movements and unions for occupational choice.

efforts to bolster that image and to clarify the definition, goals, and objectives of the field should serve to affect initial entry (cf. Ginzberg, 1967) although, again, research is necessary to ascertain the validity of this statement. Articles on the prestige and/or the image of SWRS are summarized in Table 3 (Polansky et al., 1953; White, 1955; Kadushin, 1958b; Ehrle, 1969; ABT Associates, 1970; Shapiro, 1968) and are referred to again in a later section.

A second recruitment strategy which has been used is the raising of salaries (Stamm, 1968). Increased salaries obviously affect an individual's career choice by making a particular occupation more attractive (Maull et al., 1965), but the necessary research to gauge the extent of influence of salary on initial entry seems lacking. One bit of data shown in Table 3 is the finding that apparently as a result of increasing salaries, the number of professionals at public agencies, which were previously out of favor with professionally trained personnel (Bishop, 1958) has grown (Stamm, 1968).

Third, scholarship programs have been introduced to support the study of some new workers (Stamm, 1968; Sussman and Haug, 1968), although it seems that much of the available support goes to those already in the field (cf. Stamm, 1968).

Fourth, the field has supported some research designed to unearth new sources of recruits (Sussman and Haug, 1970b; Pins, 1963). Indeed, Sussman and Haug have led a longitudinal program of research which seems unique both in its design and in its emphasis on gaining new recruits from the population at large.

Agency Characteristics and Practices

The Agency's Job Market: Influences on Occasion

There are a number of different ways in which agencies can conceivably increase their chances of being viewed as a significant job market. For example, they can restructure their job families in a manner that would increase the total number of jobs available. Second, they can adopt publicity strategies citing need. Third, they can adopt loose hiring standards. All of these procedures appear in the literature, but the definitiveness of their treatment leaves something to be desired.

An example of the first procedure is a monograph by Barker and Briggs (1968) which concerned itself with the reformulation of agency tasks as part of the paraprofessional movement. One of their proposals concerns the revision of tasks and task structure by the development and use of social work teams composed of individuals with varying amounts of educational attainment. These team workers are deployed and led by an MSW, who develops plans and definitions for "episodes of service." A number of other studies and papers on paraprofessionals have suggested various programs of this general nature, among them Davidoff et al., 1969; and Schlosser, 1969. As support for these approaches there is a study which bolsters the general assumption that revising the job structure to utilize paraprofessionals has the effect of increasing the number of jobs in

the agency and the number of people being employed. Kissick (1968) has noted that, in the health field, 117,000 "low content" job workers replaced the 113,000 "high content" and "middle content" job workers projected to be required in 1960.

There is a considerable literature illustrating the second strategy mentioned above, as by articles pointing out a serious social need for services and a lack of personnel. Reports of severe manpower shortages have appeared for virtually every segment of the SWRS field: Sigurdson, 1969; Phillips, 1969; Robertson, 1967; *Crime and Delinquency*, 1966; Special Committee on Aging, 1969; Maull et al., 1965; Schlosser, 1969; Child Welfare League, 1970; Stone, 1967; Hylton, 1966; Adler and Trobe, 1968; Glover and Reid, 1964; Mushkin and Harris, 1965; Moreland Commission, 1963; Steinberg et al., 1969; Sieracki, 1968; Levenson et al., 1969; Doster, 1970; Wheeler, 1966; Boehm, 1966; Johnson, 1966; Weber, 1968; P. Green, 1966; Glaser, 1966; Loewenberg and Shinn, 1969. The influx of manpower into the SWRS field (Baker, 1965; Stamm, 1969; Reichert, 1970; Lowy, 1968a) suggests that this large number of articles has perhaps had the desired effect.

The third strategy, loose hiring standards, has been adopted because of pressures to fill vacancies. W. Jones (1965) notes that public welfare agencies in Alameda County, California had often hired "drifters," undesirable employees, or those who were just hunting around for a job. Also taken on were young female workers whose long-term commitment was obviously lacking. HEW-Division of State Merit Systems (1966) demonstrated, also in a public agency setting, that these agencies seemed resigned to hiring persons in the lower scoring ranges of the civil service examination.

A number of implications appear to be warranted from this section. First, it seems apparent that an agency's management has some strategies available to it, with which it may increase the number of jobs in the agency or publicize the availability of jobs, and administrators have apparently used them. However, it is also apparent that other means have not been used and that two of the techniques may have some dysfunctional consequences.

For example, the utilization of loose hiring standards may be harmful to service delivery and may increase turnover as well (W. Jones, 1965). Furthermore, the use of job restructuring to increase the number of paraprofessionals might have the effect of decreasing the prestige of the field in general. This, in turn, may decrease the number of professionals entering the field. Little work has been attempted in the area of increasing the prestige of the field and thus adding to its "social power" in terms of budget and personnel allocations both in the general population and in funding agencies. However, it is also conceivable that the low prestige of the field is not a problem, since many people enter it even though they know its lack of prestige, low salaries, etc.

Overall, then, there seems to be little doubt that certain kinds of managerial actions are associated with increasing the perception of the availability of

jobs in an agency. However, little is known about the effects, both functional and dysfunctional, of such actions and which ones would be best for achieving what goals. Such research is obviously needed.

Agency Strategies in Influencing Choice

We turn now to the characteristics of organizations and agencies which operate to attract new career applicants. Two important factors involved in such a review may be worth noting here.

First and most important, such a review has considerable practical significance, since it may provide direct, meaningful guidelines to administrators who are faced with the question of how they can increase (or decrease) the number of applications for positions which they have available. One way to get an increase, of course, and a procedure which was previously discussed, is to simply increase the total number of jobs available. However, this is only one method and a method which may not be available to most agency directors whose budgets are determined by legislatures and administrative higher-ups. Hence, it is important to know what other techniques are possible. Such alternatives may be supplied by an exploration of those organizational variables which have been found to be associated with the decision to join a particular agency.

Second, this review is of significance in that it may enable a further evaluation of the adequacy of our theoretical model, providing the appropriate data are available. From this viewpoint, the relevant issue is whether or not the agencies chosen more frequently than others are those perceived as more likely to fit the goal systems of persons entering the field. We would predict, of course, that on the average, those agencies which are chosen frequently do provide those goals that are generally sought by SWRS personnel to a larger extent than agencies which are chosen less frequently. This would be required even though, as we argued earlier, some people can be identified whose level of goal implementation is quite low (e.g., the low self-esteem person). For the sample as a whole, however, such a matching process should occur.

An examination of Table 3 suggests that neither the practical nor the theoretical goals can be achieved by the studies reviewed. With one possible exception, studies summarized therein have little that can be considered of practical value to the administrator. The exception is that previous group experience in the field is associated with later choice as a profession (cf. Pins, 1963), thus suggesting some value for internship training. The rest of the literature is a mass of stereotypes, contradictions, and unsupported hypotheses and arguments. Thus, on the one hand, there are not atypical arguments, statements, and surveys that the only way to increase the number of people entering the field is to increase salaries, benefits, and the like. While, obviously, one cannot argue this point, at least in the abstract, there is some evidence that large numbers of people have entered the field despite low pay and low status (cf.

Polansky et al., 1953; White, 1955; Kadushin, 1958b). Obviously, other factors must have been involved. But which? Clearly, low prestige and low salaries may be a problem in attracting some people, but it is also clear that this is not always true and people do enter such a field. But when? Under what conditions? There is little in the literature to answer such questions.

Similarly, there are the arguments that certain social work agencies which have a "businesslike middle-class image" fail to attract social work personnel (Shapiro, 1968). Assuming this is so, what does it mean? For example, does it mean that social workers are not interested in achieving on their jobs, since the probability of achieving goals in middle-class areas is undoubtedly greater than in ghetto areas? Or is there perhaps a different meaning of achievement involved here?

It is clear that organizations may be chosen as places to work for a variety of reasons (Richardson, 1966), only one of which is salary. It is also clear that, if such practices as recruiting are excluded, almost nothing is known about which organizations are seen as desirable places to work and why such desirability exists. Instead, as Geis and Cavanagh (1966) point out, the tendency has been to rely on the old standbys of money and fringe benefits with little attention to other incentives, incentives which are perhaps more under the control of administrators than money. Until detailed research takes place on these other incentives and the conditions of their effectiveness, there is little that will be of value to administrators charged with agency management or to researchers who are interested in building a possible model that would be fruitful for the understanding and prediction of initial entry.

CHAPTER 4

TURNOVER

SUMMARY

1. *Turnover refers to instances when workers leave the employment of an agency or institution.*

2. *The usual method for calculating gross turnover rates is represented by the following formula:*

$$\text{Turnover rate} = \frac{\text{Number of employees leaving in a given time period}}{\text{Average number on work force during that period}} \times 100$$

This measure, although the most often used, may not be best suited for a particular purpose. Other measures are presented in the text, including subcategorization of turnover rates.

3. *Turnover may be classified into separate categories based on reasons for leaving. These include: quits or resignations, termination or discharge, layoff, military separations, and miscellaneous (death, retirement, protracted disability). A rate may be calculated for each category.*

4. *Reasons for "involuntary" turnover, (e.g., discharge or death), may usually be ascertained from formal records. Reasons for "voluntary" turnover, (e.g., quitting), are typically ascertained from the employees who leave or change jobs. Three methods are often employed for the latter purpose: exit interviews, attitude surveys, and post-employment interviews. A significant source of information concerning the motives for turnover, little used in the SWRS field, might also be the determination of where the employee moves to after he leaves.*

5. *Ascertaining reasons for and directions of turnover makes possible assessment of the seriousness of particular problems for the field. Thus, if many workers move to jobs outside the field rather than inside it, the consequences of*

turnover loom more serious for the field. The little information on this question that is available in the literature indicates that movement within the field is generally toward higher-level positions. Also, in certain agencies and for certain types of individuals (females), leaving the field does occur. More data are needed in order to develop a clear picture of turnover and career patterns in the SWRS field.

6. *A standard or acceptable rate of turnover of SWRS workers, based on a smattering of opinions and data on rates of turnover among professionals in other fields, is estimated to be between 10 percent and 15 percent per year. By this standard, the amount of turnover in the SWRS field overall can be characterized as excessive, for it seems about double the acceptable rate. However, there are wide variations by agency type (e.g., rehabilitation as compared with social welfare agencies), personnel, and, possibly, time of study.*

7. *The variation in rates of turnover among agencies of the same type strongly suggests that local factors, some probably controllable by management, are major causes of turnover.*

8. *Turnover has been shown in a few studies to have some effect on certain groups of clients. The psychological adjustment process, attitudes toward the agency providing the services, and knowledge of services available—all may be affected by worker turnover. Certain client groups seem more susceptible than others. The literature suggests that whites, children, and persons in their forties are particularly likely to be affected. This is clearly a complex phenomenon which deserves further research.*

9. *When turnover is involuntary, its consequences for workers are usually unfavorable, according to studies in other than SWRS settings. Lowered morale and increased illness and anomie are possible effects of layoffs and discharges.*

   On balance, the consequences to the worker of voluntary turnover are usually favorable. The majority of workers move to better paying or more satisfying jobs. However, this is not always the case; nor are the consequences known in terms of such additional criteria as personal and professional growth.

10. *Consequences to the agency or field may perhaps be characterized as favorable or unfavorable depending on the rate and form of turnover. Moderate or optimum rates of turnover may serve to rid the agency of obsolescent or incompetent workers, to create promotional opportunities for those who stay, or to optimize development of workers within the field.*

Excessive rates of turnover tip the balance in the direction of unfavorable consequences. First, costs may be high. Replacement of each professional worker probably costs many thousands of dollars. The cost of training new workers alone may be about $5,000 per worker. Also, service delivery is impaired because training efforts and assignment of cases are hampered. When, as often seems to be the case, it is the more highly talented who leave, the problems are magnified.

11. *The literature reviewed on the causes and correlates of turnover both within and outside the SWRS field offers support for our conceptual framework.*

12. *Personal factors associated with turnover include goals, expectations, abilities, and demographic characteristics.*

    - *Among the goals cited in connection with causes of turnover, the following have received empirical support in the SWRS literature: (1) high salary, (2) an administrative job, (3) preferred professional activity (e.g., psychiatric casework rather than group work), (4) autonomy, and (5) status. In general, when extrinsic goals (such as pay) are compared with intrinsic goals (such as job content), the latter seem stronger factors in job changes among SWRS personnel.*

    - *Unrealistic expectations concerning goal attainment and frustration in jobs also cause turnover in the SWRS field. "Reality shock" resulting from contacts with clients is one example.*

    - *Psychometric indices of personality, job satisfaction, values, and interests have been found to be correlated with turnover in fields other than SWRS, but little research has been done within the field.*

    - *What studies exist in the SWRS field suggest that those of higher intellectual capacity, (using limited indicators of intellectual capacity), are more likely to leave. More research is needed to ascertain whether the better workers in terms of their job performance as well as their abilities are more likely to leave. For at least one group of workers, those entering private practice, it seems that the more experienced and more organizationally successful workers may leave their agencies to engage in such endeavors. Also, those whose job satisfaction is high are less likely to leave than those whose job satisfaction is low.*

    - *Contrary to the common stereotype, male SWRS workers show a higher rate of turnover than females. Thus, the suggestion to cut turnover by attracting more males into the field seems ill-founded. The turnover of*

females probably draws attention because they are more numerous in the field, so that the number quitting is greater. Married women, especially those with children under six, evidently account for much of this turnover.

- *Younger workers are more likely to leave, as are the better educated direct service workers.*

13. *Environmental characteristics such as characteristics of the job, agency, and community also influence turnover.*

    - *Some job content variables implicated in turnover in the SWRS field include large caseloads and pressures for placements, underutilization of professional knowledge and skills, lack of opportunity for professional development, excessive physical and emotional strains, and role conflict between "investigative" and "helping" functions.*

    - *Job conditions associated with turnover include: lack of opportunity for promotion within the agency; poor supervision (i.e., by supervisors who are non-participative, overly controlling, non-helping, and unwilling to acknowledge and reward worker efforts); lack of clarity of goals and objectives; inconsistencies in policies; low salaries; absence of grievance procedures; and poor working conditions such as lack of privacy.*

    - *Agency characteristics associated with turnover include the professional status of the agency, the nature and adequacy of its services, its clientele, and its location (e.g., rural vs. urban). In general, however, hard data are lacking on the relationship between turnover and such salient agency characteristics as its mission, size, climate, operations, resources, and effectiveness.*

    - *The impact of community characteristics, such as the labor market, welfare goals and policies, and educational facilities is largely unknown, although these factors appear to offer promise for future research.*

DEFINITION AND MEASUREMENT OF TURNOVER

Turnover refers to instances when workers leave the employment of an agency or institution. It is usually expressed as a percentage of the number of employees who leave compared to the number who are on the roster or payroll during some specified period of time. The period of time commonly used is a year, giving rise to "annual turnover rate." Employing agencies ordinarily break down their overall turnover rates into rates for separate classifications of personnel, such as professional and clerical.

The general method for calculating gross turnover rates is represented by the following formula (Levine and Wright, 1957; U.S. Employment Service, 1951; Gaudet, 1960):

$$\text{Turnover rate} = \frac{\text{Number of employees leaving}}{\text{Average number on work force}} \times 100$$

This may be calculated for any period of time, usually per year or per month.

A variation of this basic formula uses in the denominator the number in the work force as of some date or time period, rather than the average number.

Other formulations related to turnover include:

Instability rate, or the ratio of the number of terminating employees who were in the work force at the end of the period to the total work force at the start of the period (usually a year).

Average length of service of all employees.

Expectancy of service, determined either by (1) following a sample of employees joining an agency and calculating the percent terminating during the first year, second year, etc.; or by (2) retroactively calculating such rates from personnel files.

Attrition ratio, calculated by dividing the time an employee remains employed by the total time he could potentially remain employed (Tropman, 1968).

Rate of anticipated turnover, obtained from questionnaire studies of workers' plans for leaving or staying (Tissue, 1970).

The foregoing formulations all refer to turnover or separations irrespective of the reasons. For purposes of diagnosis and remediation, it is often desirable to classify each instance of separation from the work force by the reason for its occurrence. When this is done, turnover rates can be determined by the foregoing formulas for any desired type of turnover. The major classes of separations include (United States Employment Service, 1951):

Quits (or resignations) which are terminations initiated by employees. Frequently it is useful to refine this category further as to reasons for

quitting or the employee's new employment status, as discussed below.

Terminations or discharges, which are terminations initiated by the employer because of deficiencies in employees' performance.

Layoffs, which are terminations of employment initiated by the employer, without prejudice to the employees involved, for reasons of lack of work or lack of funds.

Military separations.

Miscellaneous separations, including death, retirement, and protracted or permanent disability.

Lefkowitz (1970) has suggested that the various reasons for turnover may be usefully classified under the following four combinations: Voluntary-Avoidable (e.g., resignation for a better job), Voluntary-Unavoidable (e.g., military service), Involuntary-Avoidable (e.g., layoff), and Involuntary-Unavoidable (e.g., death).

Reasons for involuntary turnover may usually be ascertained from formal records. Reasons for voluntary turnover must be ascertained from the employees who leave or change jobs. Life insurance companies have been found to use three procedures for assessing these reasons, with the parenthetical figures showing the percentage of companies using each: exit interviews (79 percent), attitude surveys (14 percent), and post-employment interviews (7 percent). (Life Office Management Association, 1968, 1970). Although exit interviews (or their variant, questionnaires) are the most common procedure, Geis and Cavanagh (1966) and Stark (1970) properly caution that they usually reveal a standard "shopping list" of platitudinous reasons for leaving, including a better job, higher pay, dissatisfaction with supervision, etc. Stark also points out that such procedures are prone to suffer from the need to justify the move and from a social desirability bias. These considerations may help explain why Lefkowitz and Katz (1969) found little correspondence between reasons for termination as determined by exit interviews and by a six-month follow-up questionnaire.

An alternative approach has been used by the Life Insurance Agency Management Association (1970), which inquired into employees' reasons for taking their new job rather than for quitting their former one; reasons for resignation may be inferred from the responses with the possibility of less distortion. However, this approach does not lend itself easily to the analysis of resignations from a particular agency, although it is applicable to an occupational field.

Still another method was employed by Tollen (1960) who, in addition to securing reasons from employees who had resigned, obtained reports from agency management concerning each of the resignees. The latter included checking which of 19 possible reasons the management believed to have been operative, as well as which of the checked reasons was believed to have been most compelling. There

was considerable, but not complete, agreement between reasons cited by the resignees and their agencies. The two lists corresponded 67 percent of the time but were in complete disagreement in 23 percent of the cases. Of course, which of the two sources of data is more valid remains moot. The degree of correspondence suggests that each was at least moderately accurate.

As noted previously, it may be important in studying resignations to ascertain not only the employees' proffered reasons for leaving but also the jobs, occupations, or institutions to which they moved. This type of information adds behavioral evidence on the motivation of mobility and also permits charting the directions of mobility. This topic has received little prior attention, except by Tollen (1960). Tollen investigated staff losses in child welfare and family assistance agencies and included a follow-up questionnaire to resignees which covered not only their reasons for leaving but the type of work represented by their new positions.

In addition to the questionnaire approach, it would be possible to map the career mobility of members of professional associations from their listings in professional directories, such as that of the National Association of Social Workers (e.g., NASW, 1966). However, not only is there a sampling problem presented by this approach, but, as Bishop (1958) points out, the use of position titles alone to determine the direction of job mobility presents problems of interpretation. For example, a person holding a supervisory title in a small agency may actually be getting a promotion when he accepts a position at a lower hierarchical level in a large agency.

RATES AND PATTERNS OF TURNOVER

A number of investigators of staff turnover in the SWRS field have characterized it as high or excessive (e.g., Phillips, 1969; Bates et al., 1970; Posman, 1968; Maull et al., 1965; Weinberger, 1970; Bishop, 1958; W. Jones, 1965; Scotch, 1969). No student of the subject has suggested that turnover is not a problem confronting the field.

The basis for such judgments should be the comparison of actual turnover with some standard of an acceptable rate. The literature suggests that an optimal rate of turnover, i.e., something greater than zero, is expected and acceptable (Ehrle, 1969). However, as W. Jones (1965) points out, no such optimum standard is known or accepted in the SWRS field. He himself suggests that 12 percent per annum is a reasonable benchmark. Sarri et al. (1970), noting that turnover of professionals in industry is about 15 percent, propose that rates greater than that be regarded as "high" in SWRS agencies. Surveys by the Life Office Management Association (1968, 1970) indicate that average annual turnover rates for professionals in that industry were 11.4 percent in 1969 and 8.2 percent in 1967; the comparable figures for non-professionals were 39.5 percent and 35.5 percent.

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If one accepts these benchmarks of between 10 and 15 percent per annum for professionals and compares them with the statistics for SWRS workers which have been reported in various studies as shown in Table 4, it is easy to see why students of the subject have expressed concern about excessive turnover in the field. From that table, it can be seen that the typical rate of turnover averages about twice the benchmark level. Also noteworthy are wide variations in rates, possibly as functions of the time of the study and the type of agency and personnel involved. However, even in a given time period and within a given type of agency, turnover rates may vary markedly among individual agencies and branches. Thus, Tollen (1959) reports a study of turnover in 1957-58 in the member agencies of three major child welfare and family assistance services which showed overall caseworker turnover to be 27 percent, but individual member agency rates ran as high as 70 percent. Findings like these strongly imply that local factors, some probably controllable by management, are major causes of turnover. Tollen (1960) also found that the resignation rate is particularly high during the first two years of employment and declines considerably after five years.

As noted previously, the significance of turnover depends not only on the percentage who leave but also on what kinds of positions they move to. If workers who leave an agency move to other agencies which deliver the same services, this may be not only not harmful but even advantageous to the particular subfield of which these agencies are a part. Similarly, if workers leave the subfield but move to another post within the SWRS field, the total effect on service delivery within the field may be abetted even though the individual agency is adversely affected. However, if workers who quit SWRS agencies leave the field altogether, the whole system suffers.

Unfortunately, this question of where SWRS workers move when they leave has received little attention. Among the few noteworthy reports on this subject is one by Herman (1959). Although he did not report precisely on the various kinds of mobility manifested by the Jewish Community Center workers he surveyed, he did state that much of the turnover in his sample is attributable to movement to higher-level jobs in other agencies of the same type.

French (1967)* followed up students who left schools of social work in 1957. Within the seven-year period of the study, more than half the men in casework and group work had moved to administrative or community organization types of positions.

Tollen's (1960) study included follow-up questionnaires received from 1,824 SWRS workers who had resigned; their resignations represented 70 percent of all separations (9 percent went on educational leave, 5 percent changed from full- to part-time employment at the same agency, 6 percent terminated temporary jobs, and 10 percent separated for a variety of other reasons). Among the questions were some concerning the worker's new employment status and

*Cited in Scotch, 1969.

Table 4

Reports of Turnover Rates

Study	*Sample*	*Measure*	*Finding*
HEW-Division of State Merit Systems (1968)	Public assistance caseworkers and employment security interviewers N = 12,602 caseworkers, 2,951 employment security interviewers	Separation rate	55 percent in 3 years. Range among the states was 25-73 percent.
Irzinski (1968)	Rehabilitation counselors (Pa.) N = 72	Separation rate	89 percent in 3 years.
Sussman and Haug (1968)	Graduates of rehabilitation counseling graduate programs N = 324	Estimated withdrawal from field prior to employment	33 percent
Tollen (1959, 1960)	All employees in Child Welfare League of America, Family Service Association of America, and Children's Bureau (HEW) N = 9,434	Resignation rate	17 percent per year Variations were as high as 47 percent total separation and 38 percent resignations.
	Caseworkers in Child Welfare League of America, Family Service Association of America, and Children's Bureau (HEW) N = 6,927	Separation rate Resignation rate	27 percent per year 21 percent per year (over a 10-year period) Variations in *separation rate* were as high as 70 percent.
Wasserman (1970)	Newly graduated social workers employed as child care workers in public welfare agency N = 12	Separation rate	75 percent after 2 years

Table 4—(continued)

Study	*Sample*	*Measure*	*Finding*
Tissue (1970)	Social workers in California Merit System counties N = 615	Separation rate	39.5 percent in one year
Posman (1968)	Caseworkers in New York City Dept. of Social Services N not reported	Separation rate	50 percent over 18 months
Lowy (1968a)	Family Service Association of America member agencies staff N = 4,118	Separation rate Median tenure	30 percent per year over 10-year period 2 1/2 years
Maull et al. (1965)	Caseworkers in New York State Dept. of Welfare	Separation rate	35 percent in 1964
	Caseworkers in Westchester County Welfare Dept.	Separation rate	46 percent in 1964
	Caseworkers in New York City Welfare Dept. N's not reported	Separation rate	40 percent in 1964
J. Cohen (1966)	Caseworkers in large public assistance office, Los Angeles N not reported	Separation rate	50 percent per year
Sarri et al. (1970)	Professionals in public assistance and child welfare in four states representative of U.S. geographical areas (Eastern, Central, West Central, and Western) N = 37 Eastern agencies, 35 Central, 66 West Central, 19 Western. N of professional staff not reported	Percent of agencies in low turnover category (under 15 percent separation rate)	A "representative" eastern state had 84 percent of agencies in Low categories. 3 other states in other regions had 46 percent in Low. Child welfare had 48.7 percent in Low in the eastern states.

Table 4—(continued)

Study	*Sample*	*Measure*	*Finding*
Moreland Commission (1963)	Caseworkers and supervisors, New York State Dept. of Welfare (two large counties)	Separation rate (estimated)	50 percent per year
	Caseworkers and supervisors, New York State Dept. of Welfare (six counties) N's not reported	Median separation rate (by survey)	27.0 percent per year
W. Jones (1965)	Direct service personnel, Alameda County Welfare Dept., Calif. N not reported	Separation rate	30 percent per year over 5 years
Vinter (1957)	Professional full-time settlement house personnel in direct service, supervisory, and executive posts	Separation rate	40 percent within first two years
	N = 125		30.2 percent (median)
Herman (1959)	Group workers, supervisors, and administrators in all Jewish Community Centers N = 530 (median) over five-year period	Separation rate	30 percent per year for 5 years
Podell (1967b)	Social Investigators, New York City Welfare Dept., appointed in February, March, June, September, October, and December, 1964 N = 1,117	Separation rate	50.3 percent for Feb. appointees by September, 1965; 53.9 percent for March appointees by Sept., 1965; 71.6 percent for June hires by Sept., 1965

plans. Only 62 percent of those who resigned could be considered as not lost to the SWRS field because they either currently held jobs in it or intended to return; 11 percent definitely took jobs in other fields and/or did not intend to return to social work. A sizable number (44 percent) were at least temporarily out of the field since they were not yet re-employed. Another aspect of Tollen's study showed that 12 percent of workers employed in the sampled agencies at the start of the year left the SWRS field by the time the year was out.

Although dealing with potential rather than actual movement out of the field, Goldin's (1964) survey of rehabilitation counselors in New England is of interest. He found that 44 percent of the 107 surveyed stated that they would rather be in another profession, and that most of these stated that they would leave if they were able to retrain for another profession, notably medicine or psychology.

Bishop (1958) followed up 886 people who had graduated from the University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work between 1935-36 and 1953-54. Among the findings were that 80 percent of the men stayed in the SWRS field continuously, as compared with 60 percent of the women. Of the latter who were not continuously employed, 75 percent left because of marriage and family reasons. However, 59 percent of the women who left the field did eventually return. The women stayed in their first job an average of 3.4 years, as compared to 2.8 years for men. Also, women made fewer job changes than men as the years went by.

Weinberger (1966) surveyed 58 administrators of social work agencies in Los Angeles. Mean number of job changes was a little over three. Sixty-seven percent of the moves had been upward, 24 percent lateral, and 9 percent downward. Administrators in public agencies were more likely to have made job changes within the agencies, while those in voluntary agencies were more likely to move between different agencies.

Podell et al. (1967) studied caseworker turnover, defined as discontinuity in caseworker-client pairings, during a 10-month period at one New York City Department of Welfare center. A total of 246 instances of such turnover was found. Of these, 20 percent were due to resignation of the worker.

Although data are scarce, relatively little turnover seems to be due to discharge or being "allowed to resign." Tollen's (1960) study found less than 0.5 percent of separations to be due to this cause. W. Jones (1965), who studied turnover in social worker and child welfare worker jobs, including trainees, in one county welfare department, reports that about 10 percent of separations were of this type.

Additional data such as those above, charting the patterns of worker job mobility within, between, and outside agencies in the SWRS field would do much to help guide a rational manpower policy. Unfortunately, they are still fragmentary for the purpose.

CONSEQUENCES OF TURNOVER

The extent to which turnover poses a problem is determinable not only by the rates and directions of movement, as reviewed in the preceding section, but by its effects on the parties concerned. In Chapter 2 it was noted that these effects may be traced in terms of the workers themselves, their clients, and the employing agencies. The present section will review literature bearing on such consequences, organized by relevant party to the effect.

CONSEQUENCES FOR CLIENTS

Two major analyses of the effects of SWRS worker turnover on clients have been discovered. The one by Moss and Moss (1967) reviews the subject from the standpoint of casework theory and experience and will be summarized before turning to an empirical study headed by Podell et al. (1967).

According to Moss and Moss, when an SWRS worker terminates his services to a client because of job mobility, the timing is not necessarily tied to the therapeutic process of the client and hence may be less than optimum. The client may fear the loss of his dependency on the worker; this may arouse feelings of abandonment, hostility, and regression. The client may resent that an ending is being imposed on him. He may deny the impending termination and suggest that he continue with the worker in the new setting. The client may feel that the worker is breaking the tacit contract he made initially in offering service. Clients may also feel anxiety about who will replace the worker and may resent sharing the same facts and emotional strain with a new worker. Children especially may lose much of their trust in the worker and be afraid of establishing a relationship with another worker. On the positive side, the client may experience some relief that a painful process is ending and that he may be ready to stand on his own.

Podell et al. (1967) studied empirically the effects of assignment change of the caseworker on perceptions and attitudes of the AFDC clients at one center of the New York City Department of Welfare. There was a total of 246 instances during a 10-month period in which the caseworker had been reassigned or left the agency; these occurred in over half of the cases under treatment during that time. The effects of caseworker turnover were gauged in terms of clients' evaluation of the agency and their knowledge of the availability of resources and services. The findings were reported separately for each of the three major ethnic groups served by the agency: white, black, and Puerto Rican. As regards clients' evaluation of the agency, caseworker turnover had maximum adverse effects on white clients, possibly because their expectations for service are higher. For black clients, who generally expressed the most negative evaluations, evaluations were less negative on the part of those who experienced turnover of caseworkers than those having a stable relationship with a caseworker. As regards clients' knowledge of agency services, caseworker turnover frequently but not uniformly was associated with

less information. Adverse effects on client knowledge tended again to be strongest among white clients, but in no instances were the effects of turnover especially pronounced.

As part of the Podell studies, Pomeroy (1966) reported on the correlates of caseworker turnover for 1,551 female heads of households on AFDC. Overall, the study found that client satisfaction with services was most favorably affected by the duration of worker visits. In addition, exposure to one caseworker was associated with greater client satisfaction than contact with more than one worker.

Thus, the limited empirical studies conducted in only one New York City agency lend some support to the supposition that turnover of their caseworkers has adverse effects on some clients, but studies also show that such effects are by no means universal. Providing more indirect evidence, Buchanan and Makofsky (1970) found that 77 percent of a sample of 363 public welfare clients preferred to have the same caseworker all of the time; this preference was strongest in the 40-49 age group and least among those aged 60 and over.

The question of the consequences of turnover for clients is clearly a complex one, since findings may be affected by the nature of the services, the sources of the clients' problems, the nature of the worker-client relationship, and the stage of development of the client.

CONSEQUENCES FOR WORKERS

Job insecurity such as that generated by employers' financial problems or by reorganization of agency missions and operations has been found to depress overall worker morale (Grove and Kerr, 1951; Paine et al., 1966). There is some evidence that just prior to being thrown out of work as a result of plant shutdown or technological reorganization, factory workers exhibit increases in anomia, tension, anxiety, aggression, and sickness (Cobb et al., 1966), as well as in problems of social integration (Aiken and Ferman, 1966). Such findings substantiate the common-sense supposition that *involuntary* turnover, actual or impending, adversely affects the well-being of workers.

However, *voluntary* turnover may often benefit the worker who leaves. Moss and Moss (1967) suggest that leaving an agency may be a step toward self-realization and an affirmation of maturity for the worker, who feels that he has mastered a specific function and is reaching out for new experience. Many people who quit in the hope of getting a better job or a more rewarding career or to raise a family may find that their hopes were indeed realized and that they benefitted therefrom. However, there is a dearth of factual information on the extent to which this possibility is or is not true. In the limited domain of salary, Tollen (1960) reports that 82 percent of males and 68 percent of females who changed jobs earned more in their new positions and thus bettered themselves at least in this respect. In terms of advancement, Weinberger (1966), as noted above,

found that approximately two-thirds of past job changes of agency administrators were upward and only 9 percent downward; the remainder (24 percent) had no effect on the administrator's status.

That voluntary turnover does not always benefit the worker is indicated by Tollen's data which shows that an appreciable number of resignees did not improve their salary. Another adverse consequence was revealed by Herman's (1959) study, which reported that social workers experience discomfort in having to move families, furnishings, etc.

An indirect beneficial effect of turnover is that it may serve to create a job or promotional opening for other workers, thus creating occasions for entry into the field or for upward mobility.

CONSEQUENCES FOR AGENCIES AND THE SWRS FIELD

There have been a number of treatises on the financial cost of turnover to the employing institution, of which two of the more comprehensive are those by the U.S. Employment Service (1951) and Gaudet (1960). The major components of this expense are loss of production (quality and quantity of services), costs of separating the departing worker, and costs of replacing him. Gaudet reports that a survey on such costs in nine business organizations revealed a per-employee turnover cost estimate of $300 to $800 for clerical workers and $3,000 to $15,000 for engineers. In both instances, the range depended on the skill levels involved.

Detailed analyses like these have not been encountered for SWRS workers, but the figures may not differ widely from those of engineers. For instance, Maull et al. (1965) estimate that the training costs alone for each caseworker replacement run in the vicinity of $5,000. For a field or system as a whole, the aggregate of such costs can be astronomical. To illustrate with data from other than SWRS sources, Gaudet (1960) estimates that the cost of personnel turnover to the nation, based on a conservative figure of $500 per separation and replacement, amounted to $11 billion per year. The cost of turnover to the hospital system in the U.S. based on a low estimate of $124 per separation, amounted to approximately $100 million per year, according to Levine and Wright, 1957. Both these estimates are more than 10 years old, so that the costs today are doubtless even higher.

Apart from the financial costs, staff turnover may weaken SWRS programs, as indicated by Stone's (1967) survey of foster care agencies. This negative impact is due at least in part to the adverse effects of turnover on caseloads and on training efforts (Moreland Commission, 1963) and on research (Posman, 1968). There is also some evidence that it is the more highly qualified SWRS workers who are more prone to separate, leaving a residue of those with weaker qualifications (Podell, 1967a; HEW-Division of State Merit Systems, 1968; Weiss, 1970). This adverse effect is compounded by the possibility that it is from the

ranks of these less qualified workers that promotions are made to higher-level jobs. Thus, turnover's effects must be assessed not only in terms of dollars but in terms of service delivery as well.

The effects of turnover on individual agencies and the SWRS system are not necessarily entirely negative. Turnover may, for instance, serve to clear out some of the dead wood of obsolescent or incompetent or uncommitted workers, thus enabling their replacement by more adequate personnel. In this connection, Podell (1967b) found that workers in the New York City Welfare Department were more prone to leave if they had some negative assessments and/or no positive assessments by their supervisors than if they had some positive assessments and/or no negative assessments. Also, as noted previously, some turnover is attributable to the discharge of presumably incompetent workers.

Another positive consequence is that mobility of workers between different agencies in the SWRS field may result in a more nearly optimum deployment of workers within the fields. Such mobility can also benefit the individual agency by providing it with a needed worker. It is for reasons like these that the ideal rate of turnover for an agency or the field as a whole is, as noted above, conceived as being somewhat greater than zero.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH TURNOVER

As indicated in the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2, a person's choice of a job will depend on (a) his goals, (b) his expectations that the job will meet these goals, and (c) his estimate of the probability of obtaining the job. Voluntary turnover consists of a person's leaving one job (or occupational status) for another. This means that, on balance, he expects that an alternative job which is, or is believed to be, obtainable will lead to more goal attainment (and/or less dissatisfaction) than the one he has. Put in other terms, the lower a person's net satisfaction with his present job and the greater the attractiveness of alternative jobs, the stronger is his motivation to leave and therefore the greater the likelihood that he will in fact leave when an opportunity occurs. Nuckols (1964) has assembled data on life insurance sales applicants which directly support the validity of this conceptualization, and many other studies of various kinds of workers support it less directly.

The literature also contains a number of studies of turnover among workers in the SWRS field. They are reviewed in the following section in a manner organized to relate them to our conceptual framework. This will serve to provide both insight into the dynamics of turnover of SWRS workers and a basis for subsequently formulating suggestions for possible remediation of turnover problems.

PERSONAL FACTORS IN TURNOVER

Goals and Expectations

Few studies of SWRS workers directly gauge their goals and job expectations in relation to their turnover. A landmark exception is the study of a sample of Jewish Community Center workers by Herman (1959). He found high rates of turnover, particularly at lower ranks, where there was a general pattern of changing jobs every two or three years. The major explanation for this turnover picture was found to be the widely expressed goals of becoming an agency director and earning a high salary. Moreover, there was a widely held expectation that opportunity for upward mobility within the employing agency was limited, and also that high-level positions were more available to persons having had experience in a variety of agencies. The net effect of these two sets of expectations was the belief that "the way to advance is to move." Coupled with the aforementioned goals of high-level positions and high salaries, these expectations led to turnover during a period when job opportunities were relatively plentiful.

Scotch (1969) also studied workers in Jewish Community Centers. The goal systems on which he focused included type of work, agency loyalty, and identification with Judaism. Most workers were found to have higher loyalty to the profession than to the employing agency, and this was a key determinant of their job mobility. Within the professional domain, more of them placed greater value on treatment or academic work, so that workers were leaving JCC agencies for those settings offering opportunities for preferred professional activity. Another finding was that turnover was particularly high among workers having little identification with Judaism, although this factor was less influential than professional goals.

Polansky et al. (1953) interviewed 75 Detroit social workers about their job attitudes. The most attractive features of the profession to this sample (predominantly committed to a lifetime career in the field) included its usefulness in helping people, contact with clients, and opportunity to train others. The major aversions were clerical work and insufficient pay, but these factors were apparently not sufficiently salient to lead very many of the sample to want to leave the field.

Weinberger (1970) studied the attractiveness of various job features in a sample of 65 SWRS workers and 30 supervisors. The professional climate of the agency, in terms of treatment of clients and workers' freedom to be innovative, was the major correlate of job satisfaction; neither level of income nor professional status was correlated with it. Other positive features included working with clients and (for supervisors) supervisory and training activities. Job satisfaction was not related to length of job tenure, but this is an equivocal finding since it is not clear that dissatisfaction is not associated with quitting.

Weinberger had earlier (1966) studied reactions of SWRS agency administrators to various job features. Professional status, upward mobility, and autonomy were job features associated with satisfaction. They also said that they liked administrative work better than direct service. When asked what factors would be important in making a job change, work-related and professional considerations were cited by 70 percent in comparison to 30 percent citing financial considerations.

The goal of autonomy has been an important theme in the issue of effective supervisory methods (Austin, 1963), as will be discussed later. However, the problem looms as more serious, for some have implied that the individual may not be able to satisfy his professional goals within an agency setting per se (cf. Wedemeyer, 1970; J. Cohen, 1966). Movement into private practice seems in part due to this factor (M. Cohen, 1966), although financial aspirations are involved as well, particularly for part-time practitioners, who represent the majority of this group (M. Cohen, 1966; Levenstein, 1965).

Whatever the underlying reason, this form of turnover may have increasingly unfavorable consequences to SWRS agencies for two reasons. First, the number in private practice had been doubling every five years, at least through 1962 (Levenstein, 1965), thus depriving agencies of qualified workers. This is mitigated to a degree because the majority practice privately only part time and maintain their other jobs as well. Second, those NASW members who opt for private practice have been found to be more experienced, more likely to move into higher-level jobs, and to advance at a faster rate than a comparison group of NASW members (M. Cohen, 1966).

Several studies outside the SWRS field have indicated that a significant contributor to turnover is discrepancy between what a person hopes or expects to experience on a job and what he finds to be the actual nature of the job; i.e., false expectations concerning goal attainment and frustration. That this contributes to turnover in the SWRS field as well is indicated by the study of Maull et al. (1965), who reported that an appreciable number of young caseworkers leave their agency because of "disenchantment with the realities of social welfare." Blau (1960) also reported that some caseworkers resign because of "reality shock" resulting from their contacts with clients; initially positive attitudes and expectations regarding clients became increasingly negative, thereby contributing to caseworkers' disillusionment and frustration.

Demographic Characteristics

As noted in Chapter 2, certain demographic characteristics of a sample of people may be predictive of job choice since, given the usual attributes of an occupation or job, people having certain characteristics are more likely to have goals that can be attained through that type of employment than are people having other characteristics. Such demographic data may therefore be useful in

making actuarial predictions of proneness to turnover. This possibility has been verified in many instances outside the SWRS field (Lefkowitz, 1970). There are some similar findings for SWRS workers as well.

Psychometric Data

Demographic data are of two main types: psychometric (data based on psychological measuring instruments); and biographical (data based on such background characteristics as sex or socioeconomic status). An example of the former's utility in predicting turnover in the SWRS field is shown in a study by Mordock and Platt (1969). They compared by means of certain personality tests trainees in a program for child care workers who separated before completing training with those who did complete training. Those who left on the average manifested higher social aggressiveness, less restraint, and less ability to structure than those who completed training. Another case in point, if occupational and physical therapy may be considered part of the SWRS field, is the study by Stone and Athelstan (1969). They utilized the Strong Vocational Interest Blank in an attempt to predict the occupational tenure of female occupational and physical therapists. Unfortunately, their results were largely negative; the SVIB did not prove useful as a predictive device in this sample.

Although a variety of other psychometric indices of personality, values, and interests have been found to be correlated with turnover in various fields other than SWRS (Schuh, 1967a; Lefkowitz, 1970) this possibility has received relatively little attention within the SWRS field.

In addition to those kinds of psychometric measures, measures of ability may also be related to turnover. Thus, Ghiselli and Brown (1955) summarize a variety of studies performed outside the SWRS field by indicating that for each occupation there is an optimum range of abilities within which are found people who are likely to remain at their place of employment. Those whose abilities are higher or lower than this optimum range are likely to leave. In this vein, Podell (1967a) reported findings that, in the New York City Welfare Department, those social investigators who left within the first nine months of employment were more likely to have relatively high scores on the civil service test used for selection, as shown by the following tabulation:

Test score	*Percent leaving in 9 months*
90-100	39
80-89	33
70-79	25
60-69	15

A similar finding was reported by the HEW-Division of State Merit Systems (1968):

Merit examination score	*Percent leaving each survey year*			
	1964-65	*1965-66*	*1966-67*	*Total*
90 and over	18	32	11	61
80-89	16	27	12	55
70-79	11	25	11	47

In both these instances, had the minimum qualifying score been set low enough, presumably there would be an increase in turnover rates at lower score levels, in line with Ghiselli and Brown's postulation of an optimum range for staff retention.

A type of psychometric measure found in a number of industrial studies to be predictive of turnover is job satisfaction (Brayfield and Crockett, 1955; Herzberg et al., 1957; Vroom, 1964; Lefkowitz, 1970). However, only one direct study of this relationship was encountered in the literature on SWRS workers. Meyer (1971), in a study of 160 Army social work officers, found that those staying were significantly more satisfied than those leaving their positions. Moreover, lack of satisfaction of the intrinsic needs of these workers was more importantly associated with leaving than lack of satisfaction of needs extrinsic to the job itself.

Biographical Data

There are more reports of the correlations between biographical data with turnover in the SWRS field than the scattered reports noted above involving psychometric data. The main findings are summarized below, by type of biographical characteristic.

Sex.—Tollen's (1960) national study of caseworker turnover in child welfare and family assistance agencies showed that the annual resignation rate for men (25 percent) was higher than for women (20 percent). Podell (1967b) found that total turnover rate for SWRS workers in the New York City Welfare Department was also greater for men than for women, as did the national survey conducted by the HEW-Division of State Merit Systems (1968), in which the rate over a three-year period was 58 percent for men and 53 percent for women. Stamm's (1969) survey of NASW members showed that the average tenure per job was three years for men and five years for women, indicating a lower rate of mobility for the latter. Stamm's (1968) survey of graduates of schools of social work indicates that more men than women are likely to return to school after getting into the field. Bishop's (1958) survey of graduates of the University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work revealed: that women remained in their first job for an average of 3.4 years as compared with only 2.8 years for men; that men

make more moves than women as the years go by; and that men advance to administrative posts faster than women. Tissue's (1970) study of SWRS workers' *plans* found that women somewhat more often than men expressed the intention to change jobs, but the above studies of *actual* turnover show that for one or another reason they apparently do not implement their plans as often as men do, possibly because of differences in opportunity.

Age.—Results of several studies show that young SWRS workers (under 25 or 30) are particularly likely to separate from employment (Podell, 1967b; Tollen, 1960; HEW-Division of State Merit Systems, 1968; Tissue, 1970). Tissue's (1970) data suggest on the other hand that it was not only the youngest but also the oldest workers who most frequently *planned* to leave; in the latter case impending retirement is probably the major contributing factor. Those in the 40-59 age bracket most often planned to stay. This suggests that turnover rates should be related curvilinearly to age, i.e., turnover rates should be high for relatively young workers, low for middle-aged workers, and high for relatively older workers. However, where resignation is concerned, there is a general trend for resignation rate to be greater among young workers and to decrease with increasing age of the worker (Meyer, 1971; Tollen, 1960). It remains for future investigators to determine whether turnover due to all causes, not just resignation, is linearly or curvilinearly related to age. At any rate, it seems noteworthy that, for Tissue's sample, age was the most important single indicator of plans to separate from employment, as compared to such variables as sex, marital status, job category, and pay level.

Miscellaneous Biographical Factors.—A variety of other biographical characteristics have been found in one or another study to be correlated with turnover of SWRS workers. In the New York City Welfare Department (Podell, 1967b), turnover was relatively high for those who: had been raised locally (and lowest for those who had migrated from the South Atlantic region); had some graduate study; had majored in psychology; and had no prior work experience. The HEW-Division of State Merit Systems survey (1968) found separations to be higher over a three-year period for college graduates (56 percent) than for workers with some college (44 percent) or no college (39 percent). However, Tollen (1960) reports that the resignation rate is higher for those with less training. The apparent discrepancy between the findings regarding education is probably explicable in terms of the range of positions covered, since the HEW sample was composed of entrance-level workers whereas Tollen's included the full gamut of positions. Meyer (1971) found that the turnover of Army social work officers was a function of marital status. Those officers who were married were significantly more likely to stay than those who were unmarried.

Combinations of Biographical Factors.—When two or more biographical correlates of SWRS staff turnover are considered in combination, their relation to turnover sometimes is different than the simple linear addition of their separate

effects. Considering age and sex together, Podell's (1967b) survey found that turnover was particularly high in men under 25. Men over 25 and women regardless of age exhibited similar turnover rates. On the other hand, Tollen (1960) found that the resignation rate was especially high for women under 25, even though men in that sample generally resigned at a faster rate than women.

Tollen's data also show an interaction between sex and marital status. Married women and single men were more likely to resign than single women and married men. Furthermore, married women having children under six years of age had even a higher resignation rate than other married women. Stamm's (1969) survey of NASW members sheds further light on this last phenomenon by showing that, although many women with children are at least temporarily not employed, 27 percent of those with children under six are working full-time and an additional 42 percent part-time; this compares with the full-time employment of 40 percent of those who have children over six and part-time employment of an additional 44 percent of these. Tropman's (1968) study likewise shows that full-time employment is higher for female SWRS workers having children over six than under six (40 percent as compared to 2 percent), and that both groups take up part-time employment rather frequently (over 20 percent of the cases). In short, apparently married women with children often resign to become housewives, but many of these also take up part-time employment in the SWRS field, especially after their children reach the age of six.

Meyer (1971) found an interaction between marital status and number of dependent children. As noted above, in his sample married Army social work officers were more likely to stay than single men. Moreover, those married men with a larger number of dependent children were even more likely to stay than those with fewer dependent children.

Kolack (1968) performed an interesting analysis bearing on the relations among several biographical variables in affecting plans for changing jobs and/or agencies. Following Homans' notion that status inconsistency may create disruptive forces, Kolack ascertained the extent to which each member of a sample of social workers was inconsistent or consistent on a set of three status dimensions: level of education, prestige of ethnic group membership, and hierarchical job status. Among the findings was that a significantly higher proportion of the status-consistent workers planned to be in the same job five years later than was the case with status-inconsistent workers (79 percent vs. 51 percent). Thus, patterns of several biographical variables suggesting status consistency or inconsistency may be useful in predicting turnover, over and beyond the predictive significance of the individual variables.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IN TURNOVER

The conceptual framework described in Chapter 2 notes that job mobility can be predicted on an actuarial basis from characteristics of the work environment, including the job, agency, and external community. The dynamics

underlying such predictability are due largely to similarities of goals of workers in a particular field, so that certain features of the work setting are more likely to prove attractive to most workers than are other features. When the features of a worker's present job are unrewarding or unattractive relative to those of another (attainable) job, the worker is likely to change jobs voluntarily. Certain environments may also be associated with occasions for mobility (opportunities or necessities), thereby also contributing to the prediction of turnover.

Information about environmental correlates of mobility are obtainable from the following major sources: objective records, observations by experts, and reports from those exhibiting mobility (usually via exit interviews or follow-up questionnaires) concerning their reasons for changing jobs. All these sources of data will be employed in the following section on environmental factors in SWRS staff turnover.

Job Content and Conditions

Experiences with SWRS staff turnover, as reviewed by Daly in the Arden House Workshop (1968), suggest that it is caused most often by problems in the domain of the content of and conditions surrounding the worker's job, including personnel practices, salaries, working conditions, opportunities for professional practice, and career development. This section will consider the results of studies which show the extent to which turnover of SWRS workers is associated with such factors.

At the grossest level of analysis, it may be noted that turnover rates differ among various types of jobs. For example, in a study of SWRS workers in the Alameda (California) County Welfare Department, W. Jones (1965) found the highest turnover rate (29 percent) in the category of Social Worker II, whereas Child Welfare Workers I and II left at a rate of 17 percent. Herman (1959) and others have reported that turnover is lower in higher-level jobs.

On examining what specific factors within job categories appear to be associated with turnover, the nature of the tasks and responsibilities looms large. Thus, in the Jones study, the job category having the lowest turnover rate (Child Welfare Worker I and II) was characterized by lower caseloads and less paperwork than jobs with higher turnover. Goldin (1964) and Irzinski (1968) cite both large caseloads and pressures for placements as contributors to low morale and turnover of SWRS workers.

Bell and O'Reilly (1969) attribute turnover of MSW's in public assistance agencies to underutilization of professional knowledge, skills, and attitudes. This problem is further indicated by the discovery of Barker and Briggs (1966) that SWRS personnel in mental hospitals carry out much the same responsibilities regardless of their education (Adams, Arden House Workshop, 1968). Similar allusions to the relevance to turnover of unchallenging or inappropriate work duties (including too much clerical and paperwork) and of excessive work pressures are found in a number of other reports (Moreland Commission, 1963;

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Ehrle, 1969; Kermish and Kushin, 1969 (cited by Weiss, 1970); Tollen, 1960; Vinter, 1967a; Wallace, 1966). Agency administrators also cite the importance to them of intellectual and professional aspects of a job more frequently than any other type of factors as a basis for making a job change (Weinberger, 1966).

Lack of opportunities for professional development and advancement is another factor implicated in turnover of SWRS workers (Ehrle, 1969; ABT Associates, 1970). Tissue (1970) reports that those SWRS workers who regarded in-service training as inadequate in their present job settings were significantly more likely to plan changing jobs than those who regarded training as satisfactory. This was one of the two major correlates of plans to change jobs. Inadequate training also was one of the major reasons cited for turnover among New York State welfare workers (Moreland Commission, 1963).

Weiss (1970) notes that failure to promote workers within the first two years of employment is a cause of turnover. Herman's 1959 study revealed that much turnover could be attributed to the belief that advancement opportunities within agencies were limited. Advancement was one of the most important reasons offered for changing jobs, especially for men, in Tollen's (1960) study of child welfare and family assistance workers.

Workers also frequently resign in order to obtain further formal training (Tollen, 1960), presumably because they find it difficult to improve their competence and status on the job. Bindman (1966) reports that in-service training programs have stimulated and maintained the interest of workers in community mental health centers and have been a factor in improving staff retention. Podell's study (1966) implies that either it is those who are inclined to be upward mobile who leave to obtain additional schooling, or that schooling improves their interest and qualifications for upward mobility, for most obtain higher-level jobs after schooling than they had before. Along the same lines, Loewenberg and Shinn (1969) found that obtaining the DSW degree results in higher-level positions and 50 percent higher salaries than was the case before completing the degree.

Inadequate supervision is an additional job-related factor often implicated in turnover. Tollen's (1959) report on resignees indicated that dissatisfaction with supervision could result either from too close supervision or insufficient help provided by the supervisor. The former was more often reported by more highly trained resignees and those who left voluntary agencies, whereas the latter was more often reported by those leaving public agencies in the sample. Excessive supervisory control was also a major factor reported in the exit interviews conducted by Kermish and Kushin, 1969, cited by Weiss, 1970. Supporting the significance of insufficient supervision is the study by Maull et al. (1965), who report that lack of supervision causes errors and uncertainty for new caseworkers, who may then leave because of inability to do effective work. Conflicting or confusing directives emanating from the supervisor or those higher up act as another contributor to actual or potential turnover (Moreland Commission, 1963; Tissue, 1970).

Another aspect of supervision related to turnover cited by the Moreland Commission was lack of voice in policy, including inability to reach above the immediate supervisor with ideas or complaints. The Moreland Commission also reported, among the reasons why social welfare workers leave jobs, the lack of recognition they receive; while not completely attributable to the supervisor, this problem is, in part, subject to supervisory response to worker performance.

As a group, these and other studies (e.g., Girl Scouts of America, 1954) indicate that contributing to turnover of SWRS workers are patterns of supervisory behavior which general research and theory on supervision indicate to be ineffectual: non-participative, overly controlling, non-helping, unappreciative, unclear on goals and objectives, and inconsistent in policies (Lee and Shepard, 1971). In view of the importance of supervision to turnover, it is of interest to note that many SWRS agency informants are relatively oblivious to its role in the turnover of their workers (Tollen, 1958, 1960).

Financial inducements, particularly salary but also fringe benefits, have been frequently reported as reasons why SWRS workers say they have changed, or would like to change, jobs (Moreland Commission, 1963; Tollen, 1960; Herman, 1959; Weinberger, 1966; Geis and Cavanagh, 1966; Schwartz, 1967; Ehrle, 1969; ABT Associates, 1970). Objectively, turnover has been found to be higher in lower-paying jobs (Herman, 1959; W. Jones, 1965), but this relationship is obscured by the fact that higher-paying jobs are also different in status and content. The importance of salary as a pervasive factor in turnover is indicated by Stark's (1970) recent survey of 419 companies of various types, in which it was found that starting salaries were correlated with staff retention during the first few years of employment, even when differences in job content were taken into account.

A smattering of other job-related reasons for turnover of SWRS workers have also been reported, including frustration with insufficient resources and both physical and emotional fatigue (Wasserman, 1970), working conditions (W. Jones, 1965; Wasserman, 1970; Tollen, 1960), the absence of grievance procedures (Moreland Commission, 1963), and whether the relation of services to client needs induces role conflict on the part of the SWRS worker (Posman, 1968).

Agency and Community Characteristics and Operations

The mission, structure, operations, and location of the SWRS agency in which the worker is employed also may create forces which affect turnover. This is suggested by Tollen's 1960 study, which revealed differences in turnover rates among different types of child welfare and family assistance agencies. Public child welfare agencies had the highest annual turnover rate (30.1 percent) , whereas voluntary child welfare agencies had the lowest (20.4 percent); family service agencies were intermediate with 25.6 percent. It is, of course, not entirely clear from such statistics whether these differences are attributable to differences in

agency characteristics, in the nature of the jobs, or in the characteristics of the workers employed.

Scotch (1969) attributes a certain amount of movement of workers among different agencies to the professional status of the agency, the nature of its services, its clientele, and its sectarian characteristics, if any. The professional status of an agency is in part a reflection of the professional status of the SWRS subfield of which it is a part. For example, in the 1950's professional caseworkers tended to be disproportionately attracted to psychiatric facilities and disenchanted with public assistance agencies, resulting in a 155 percent increase in employment in the former and a 12 percent decline in the latter among those with an MSW (HEW - Task Force on Social Work Education Manpower, 1965, cited in Scotch, 1969). Bishop's (1958) survey of graduates of the University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work indicated that child welfare, group work, and public assistance agencies lost more such personnel than they gained, whereas the reverse was true for psychiatric, school, community organization, and medical agencies.

The location of the agency may also play a part. Thomas (1959) asserts that welfare workers in rural areas change jobs less often than their urban counterparts, partly because there are fewer occupational alternatives and fewer jobs within the SWRS field from which to choose.

J. Cohen (1966) relates the phenomenon of SWRS worker job mobility to disillusionment induced by certain relatively universal service delivery problems of agencies in the field. This implies that such problems may induce workers to move from agency to agency in an effort better to fulfill their aspirations for client service. Among the deficiencies in agency policy noted by Cohen are those betokening faulty linkages with clients. Many agencies do not operate after hours; their policy-making bodies usually fail to include clients; few participate in civil rights movements; they rarely provide comprehensive services, tending to do a lot of referral instead; only a minority of them have a majority of their staff living in the neighborhood; very few reach out for clients. Another agency policy called into question by this study is the extent to which it employs highly trained professional personnel, since certain effectiveness ratings of agencies tended to be inversely related to the level of professional training of their staff.

Olmstead (1970) suggests that the crucial dimensions of organizational climate for SWRS agencies are not so much formal structural properties like centralization and specialization as those relating to power, status, communication, and functional patterns. Although he does not relate these dimensions specifically to turnover, they are of interest since they illuminate further the problems of agency effectiveness which J. Cohen suggests are implicated in turnover. Among the organizational factors noted by Olmstead are: conflicts between agency practices and professional values of its workers; conflicts among the goals of the agency itself; competitiveness among staff members; insufficient autonomy of staff; role conflict and role ambiguity, the latter associated with the absence of clear standards of performance.

Weissman (1969) suggests several policies and practices to be followed by agencies using indigenous personnel in order to form stable self-help groups; i.e., to forestall dissolution of such groups by excessive withdrawal of members. Among the suggestions are: providing a professional staff worker to supply direction and help to group members; keeping a balance between goal-oriented and maintenance-oriented activities; undertaking to deal successively with a variety of problems; offering meaningful forms of participation to all, including those with various levels of commitment. These suggestions are consistent with J. Cohen's and Olmstead's more general analyses of patterns of organizational and work group functioning.

In general, however, hard data are absent on the extent to which SWRS staff turnover is related to such salient agency characteristics as its mission, size, structure, climate, operations, resources, and effectiveness. The effects on turnover of characteristics of the community, such as resources, SWRS labor market, welfare goals and policies, and educational facilities, likewise remain largely unknown.

CHAPTER 5

INTERNAL MOBILITY

SUMMARY

1. *Internal mobility is defined as a change of job while the worker remains in the employ of a single agency. Such mobility usually implies directionality in terms of job title and/or duties. Thus, promotion is a move to a more difficult and/or higher-status job; transfer is a move to a job of equal difficulty and/or status; demotion is a move to a job of lower status and/or difficulty.*

2. *In most agencies jobs are ordered into a hierarchy of several levels which is presumably based on job difficulty (complexity of duties and extent of responsibilities). Thus, the determination of whether an internal change is a promotion, transfer, or demotion may be made on the basis of a suitable organization chart. Several examples of hierarchies are extant in the literature. In general, direct practice, supervision, and administration may be distinguished as the hierarchical designations characteristic of SWRS jobs.*

3. *Measurement of internal mobility consists of calculating the percentages of workers within a given agency who have made a specific type of change during a certain period of time, usually one year.*

4. *Relatively little information is available on rates and patterns of internal mobility.*

5. *Among the unfavorable consequences of internal mobility are such factors as costs (e.g., of retraining the worker and his replacement), and frustration, loss of self-esteem, or even resignation of the worker (in the case of forced transfers or low rates of promotion).*

6. *Among the favorable consequences of internal mobility are increased professional proficiency, growth, and satisfaction for the individual in the case of promotions and voluntary transfers or planned job rotation procedures, and increased salary and status in the case of promotions. The agency may benefit*

from reasonable rates of promotion as well, because the rate of turnover seems inversely related to the rate of promotion. Whether lowered rates of turnover are caused by high promotion rates or vice versa has not been determined at this point.

7. *Although our conceptual framework of worker job mobility has received some support in research on internal mobility carried out in other than SWRS settings, the literature on SWRS agencies seems virtually devoid of evidence which could be brought to bear as a test of the adequacy of the model. All that has been uncovered are studies of a relatively small number of demographic and organizational correlates of promotion.*

8. *The literature on demographic correlates of promotion indicates that males are more likely to attain administrative posts and that more highly educated (e.g., MSW's) and older workers are more likely to be promoted.*

9. *Research is necessary in order to assess the influence on promotion of additional demographic characteristics (such as birth order, marital status, both parents present in family) and of measured traits such as inner- or other-directedness and intellectual ability. Moreover, the prediction of effective performance after promotion (or, for that matter, after any within-agency job change) has received virtually no systematic attention in the literature.*

10. *As to environmental factors in internal mobility:*

    - *Empirical evidence suggests that there are statewide differences in the rate of promotions, at least for caseworkers in public agencies.*

    - *Agency size has been found to be related both to promotional criteria and to the number of promotional opportunities. Small and large agencies are more likely to emphasize examinations ("competitive" criteria), whereas medium-size agencies are more likely to emphasize educational attainments ("professional" criteria). Large agencies provide more opportunities for promotion and, presumably, transfer though little empirical work has been focused on this point.*

    - *"Height" of an agency's structure (number of hierarchical levels) affects promotion. "Flat" structures afford fewer such opportunities than do "tall" structures.*

DEFINITION AND MEASUREMENT

After a worker has joined an agency, his job may be changed while he remains in the employ of the same agency. This form of job mobility, sometimes termed "internal turnover" (Gaudet, 1960), is the subject of the present chapter.

Internal mobility has received relatively little attention not only in the SWRS field but in industry as well (Gaudet, 1960). In analyzing it, three aspects of a job change need consideration. First is the change in formal status, typically signified by a change in job title. Second, is a change in location, which may occur in large agencies which have personnel in more than one center or office. Third, is the change in duties and responsibilities. Whereas change in job title generally signifies a change in duties (or sometimes location), duties or location may change without a change in title. Hence, tracing intra-agency mobility requires all three types of information.

Internal mobility in terms of job title and/or duties usually implies directionality; i.e., the movement is in the direction of higher status and responsibility (termed "promotion"), equal status and responsibility (termed "transfer"), or lower status and responsibility (termed "demotion"). The determination of direction requires the existence of some system of hierarchical ordering.

Job statuses and titles are typically ordered by the system of job classification employed by the agency. In public agencies, the system is usually fixed by policies and procedures of civil service, and a parallel system is typically found in voluntary agencies. On these, a grosser classification is sometimes superimposed by investigators of job mobility. Thus, Podell (1966) ordered the positions in the New York City Welfare Department in the following manner, from low to high: direct service, supervisors, second-line supervisors, and higher (administrative) positions. Stamm (1969) used a trichotomy of casework, supervision, and general administration. Herman (1959) subdivided supervisory and administrative positions into the following six categories (from low to high): group leader; program assistant; program director; branch director; assistant executive director; and executive director. Lenzer (1970) suggested the following job levels for health careers for the poor: direct service, including clerical work; direct service, with specialization; supervisory work.

Hierarchical ordering of jobs in terms of duties and responsibilities entails some system of evaluating the difficulty or complexity of work done. Various systems of accomplishing this are embraced under the concept of "job evaluation," since salaries are typically determined by the content of the job. Systems of this kind are described by Otis and Leukart (1954). Fine (1955) has described a method for ordering job content in terms of a hierarchical arrangement of worker functions in relation to people, data, and things.

In principle, internal mobility can be measured or expressed in the same fashion as external mobility or turnover. Basically, it would involve defining each

type and direction of internal change, determining for each agency the number of workers in a particular category who were involved in each such change during a specified period of time (usually one year), and expressing this number as a percentage of the total number of workers employed in that category in the agency. By this means an upward mobility or promotion rate, lateral mobility or transfer rate, etc., could be determined. A procedure like this has been followed in determining promotion rates from entrance-level positions in public welfare agencies (HEW-Division of State Merit Systems, 1968). In addition to gross promotion or transfer statistics, it would be useful to ascertain the kinds of positions into which workers moved from given types of positions.

RATES AND PATTERNS OF INTERNAL MOBILITY

Much less information has been reported on rates and patterns of internal mobility than was reported in the preceding chapter on turnover. Among the few relevant studies is that by the HEW-Division of State Merit Systems (1968), which over a period of three years covered certain aspects of the careers of 12,062 caseworkers appointed to entrance-level positions in public welfare agencies during the fiscal year 1964-65. It was learned that 2,234 of these workers were promoted during the next three years, for an aggregate promotion rate of 18 percent for three years.

Podell et al. (1967), in the course of studying caseworker-client turnover in one center of the New York City Welfare Department, has reported the following patterns of internal changes in work assignments of 251 caseworkers and trainees during an 8-month period:

Promotions	10
On leave	7
Transfer to:	
a field unit	93
reserve	58
intake	4
another center	23
	195

In that agency, at least, more internal mobility was attributable to transfer than to promotion.

The SWRS literature apparently contains no information on rates and patterns of demotion.

CONSEQUENCES OF INTERNAL MOBILITY

Gaudet (1960) notes that, although internal turnover has received scant attention, its attendant financial costs may be large, especially when managerial

personnel are involved. The elements of these costs include retraining the worker, temporary loss in productivity, costs involved in recruiting and processing his replacement, and administrative costs. (See Chapter 4 for cost analysis of personnel replacement).

Apart from direct financial implications, lateral internal mobility may have other untoward consequences. A report of the State of New York Department of Social Services (1969) describes lateral mobility caused by the large-scale reorganization of public welfare into income maintenance and social services. Although the effects of such imposed lateral mobility have not yet been dealt with in the professional literature, our Expert Informants (see Chapter 6) offered the assessment that this mobility has led to frustration of many SWRS workers who feel that their talents are not being used as well under the new setup. Studies of lateral mobility among non-SWRS workers cite other possible disadvantages, including resignations resulting from reduced group cohesiveness (Coch and French, 1948) and loss of self-esteem on the part of transferred workers, especially those of long service (Lefkowitz, 1970). The effects of disrupting worker-client relationships may be disadvantageous (Buchanan and Makofsky, 1970), but this is not completely clear (Podell et al., 1967). (See also Chapter 4 above.).

On the other hand, lateral mobility in the form of "job rotation" has been encouraged in some organizations, including the Armed Forces, as a means of developing broader competence on the part of workers and of maintaining their interest in their work. To the extent that these outcomes are achieved, systematic lateral mobility would seem capable of benefitting the worker, the agency, and the clients. However, firm data on this subject are not available.

The other major form of internal mobility—promotion—may be expected generally to operate to the advantage of the worker. Salary, job content, job satisfaction, and work motivation all are generally superior in higher-level jobs (Herman, 1959; Meyer, 1971; Friedlander, 1966; Grusky, 1966; Lewis, 1967; Ghiselli and Brown, 1955; Hulin and Smith, 1964, 1965). However, promoted workers may sometimes find that they do not enjoy the work or colleagues associated with a higher-level job as much as those in their previous job.

Promotion can help the agency as well. Wallace (1966) reports that promotion improves the retention of MSW's by agencies; Bishop (1958) similarly reports that a higher rate of upward mobility is associated with greater likelihood of remaining with one agency. To the extent that upward mobility is associated with merit, it can improve agency operations. However, if this is not the case (Leonard, 1966; HEW-Division of State Merit Systems, 1968), agency operations may suffer. Ghiselli (1969) theorizes that the beneficial effects to an organization of promotion on the basis of merit are greater when the agency is (a) homogeneous with respect to skill and knowledge requirements, (b) has a large span of control in supervisor-subordinate relationships, and (c) is hierarchically "flat" rather than "tall." However, there is virtually nothing in the literature to indicate what the consequences of promotion to the agency actually turn out to be.

Low rates of internal promotion may hurt agencies by inducing turnover (Herman, 1959; Bishop, 1958). However, when higher positions are filled only from within, little emphasis may be placed on training and development of new skills and knowledge, with the attendant danger that good administrators would be in short supply (Sanfilippo and Wallach, 1970).

A special form of internal mobility takes the form of educational leave, during which an incumbent takes advanced schooling. Podell (1966) surveyed 181 workers of the New York City Welfare Department who had taken educational leave to complete the MSW. One consequence of this activity was that it apparently served to facilitate upward mobility, in the sense that most occupied higher-level jobs than they had previously (but there was no control group who had not gone to school). There were also certain attitudinal consequences of this educational leave, noteworthy among which were more negative assessments of the performance of the agency and the competence of its personnel. Possibly as a result, many did not plan to spend their career in the Department, which suggests that educational leave may be a factor in increasing turnover if the agency is unable to provide sufficient professional challenge and higher-level jobs.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH INTERNAL MOBILITY

Attempts to change jobs within an agency are likely to be subject to the same basic dynamics of voluntary mobility as outlined in Chapters 2 and 4. A study by Hill et al. (1970) confirms that the expected utility model used here does indeed apply to predicting which workers will and will not bid for better jobs in an organization; i.e., the ones who bid are those who expect the advantages to be greater and disadvantages to be less, on balance, in the new job than those on the present job.

However, this model has not been directly tested on SWRS workers. The only empirical studies of factors associated with internal mobility in this field involve demographic and organizational correlates of promotion. Moreover, the only aspects of promotion studied have been changes in job classification and its correlate, salary. The literature is virtually devoid of studies of mobility in terms of job content, apart from the supervisory dimension. Also absent are studies of other types of internal mobility. The remaining treatment of factors in internal mobility therefore falls within these limits.

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS IN PROMOTION

The previously mentioned report of the HEW-Division of State Merit Systems (1968) indicated that 18 percent of caseworkers appointed to entrance-level jobs were promoted within three years. The relevance of certain

demographic characteristics to this promotion picture is summarized in the following tables:

By education	*Percent promoted*
College degree	18
Some college	16
No college	11

By examination score	*Percent promoted*
90 and over	18
80-89	19
70-79	19

By Age	*Percent promoted*
Over 30	21
Under 30	16

By sex	*Percent promoted*
Males	17
Females	18

By sex and age	*Percent promoted*
Women 30 and over	21
Men 30 and over	20
Women under 30	17
Men under 30	16

Thus it can be seen that promotions were somewhat more frequent for those with more education and those who were older; there are slight trends for promotions to be relatively more frequent for women and for those scoring below 90 on the entrance examination.

Additional demographic characteristics of SWRS workers reported as being associated with movement into or occupancy of supervisory and administrative jobs are: having the MSW degree (Podell, 1966) or graduate social work education (Posman, 1968), and being a male (Lowy, 1968; Stamm, 1969). The discrepancy between the latter reports and the negligible sex differences in promotions found by HEW-Division of State Merit Systems may be due to differences in the levels considered; the advantage of being a man appears to be more pronounced in relation to higher-level administrative positions.

Many of the kinds of demographic data reported to be associated with upward mobility (Blau and Duncan, 1967) have not been investigated in the SWRS field, including birth order, initial job, urban origin, overcoming early obstacles, marriage, both parents present in family, and socio-economic status of

family. The same is true for certain psychometric traits which studies outside of the SWRS field indicate as being associated with movement into or success at higher-level jobs, such as inner-directedness (Porter and Henry, 1964) and intellectual ability.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IN PROMOTION

The study of caseworker promotions by the HEW-Division of State Merit Systems (1968) produced data not only on personal characteristics associated with promotion but also on promotion rates in agencies in the various states. The results show that in six states more than 50 percent of entering caseworkers were promoted in the ensuing three-year period, in 31 states the promotion rate was between 6 and 49 percent, and in 13 states the rate was less than 6 percent. The figures for the six states with the highest and 13 states with the lowest promotion rates are listed below, together with their separation rates.

	Percent promoted (1964-67)	*Percent separated (1964-67)*
Hawaii	61.5	30.8
Connecticut	61.1	38.1
New Hampshire	60.0	40.0
Illinois (except Cook County)	58.8	36.3
Nevada	57.5	42.9
Washington	54.1	45.9
New York (except N.Y.C.)	5.6	54.9
Georgia	5.6	53.4
Kansas	5.3	61.4
Rhode Island	5.0	50.0
Florida	3.2	58.5
Minnesota	3.0	48.0
Virginia	2.4	61.6
Alabama	2.3	54.7
Texas	2.3	30.0
New Jersey	1.6	57.4
Massachusetts	1.4	52.8
Louisiana	1.0	60.6
South Carolina	0.0	68.2

Comparison of the promotion and separation rates shows a marked inverse relationship between the two. This suggests the possibility of a causal connection, although the direction of causality is unclear. It is possible that the absence of

promotional opportunities causes turnover, or that high rates of turnover reduce the numbers of caseworkers eligible for promotion. Of course, both processes may be taking place too. The data do not lend themselves to a further dissection of policies and conditions which may account for the different promotional rates, but it may be noted that the requirements of the MSW and minimum amounts of in-service experience for promotion in some jurisdictions would constitute barriers to promotion for many workers.

Sarri et al. (1970) have analyzed the relative importance placed on the MSW ("professional") or competitive examination ("bureaucratic") criteria for promotion. They report that SWRS agencies stressing one are likely to place less stress on the other. Both small and large agencies are more likely to emphasize examinations rather than education, while the reverse is true for medium-size agencies. Public assistance agencies are also more likely to emphasize examinations, whereas child welfare agencies, especially in the East, place greater weight on the MSW. It would manifestly be essential to take into account such differences in promotional criteria in predicting patterns of upward mobility within agencies. Parenthetically, it may be added that both these criteria seem to be rather "bureaucratic" in Weber's sense of the word, as compared to criteria reflecting on-the-job demonstrations of merit.

Other agency characteristics relevant to promotion are size and height of organizational structure; i.e., number of hierarchical levels. Herman (1959) has pointed out that the typical Jewish Community Center is likely to have only a few professionals and to have a "flat" structure (that is, a small number of hierarchical levels), thus affording few opportunities for promotion. He also reports that such agencies are disinclined to raise a person's salary markedly, indicating a type of policy which may operate against internal upward mobility. Litrio's (1962) report, although confined to military social work, is an interesting example of the fact that an administrative remedy to the flatness of an organization, namely an increase in the number of job levels, is difficult to implement. Approval from policy-making bodies seems necessary; and to accomplish this at least two things must be demonstrated. First, it must be shown that a new level is necessary; second, the duties and responsibilities of the new level position must be carefully defined.

CHAPTER 6

THE LIMITED FIELD INVESTIGATION

SUMMARY

The Limited Field Investigation consisted of two sets of interviews:

Interviews with 28 Expert Informants, including educators, public officials, and agency directors or other key personnel, concerning their impressions about worker job mobility in the field or in a particular agency.

Interviews with 40 direct service or first-line supervisory personnel concerning their most recent "critical incidents" of job change, and a contemplated job change, as well as reasons for entry into the field and impressions of the field after having had some years of experience.

The findings are summarized separately below for each source of data.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM THE EXPERT INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

1. *The responses in the area of design and feasibility of measurement and methods of studying job mobility were rather superficial and did not offer many promising leads. The most relevant information provided compels the conclusion that the study of worker job mobility will not prove fruitful if based mainly on agency records. Furthermore, the measures to be devised in the future for such study would have to be designed anew.*

2. *Because good measurement techniques are lacking, the replies of the Informants can only be considered informed opinions. The true state of affairs has yet to be determined. The need for a great deal of preliminary research to lay the groundwork for comprehensive time-linked investigations is therefore quite evident.*

3. *Turnover phenomena were of primary concern to this group of interviewees. The other forms of mobility were often considered only in the context of their implied or overt relationship to turnover.*

4. *The causes or antecedents of all forms of mobility which were mentioned lent some credence to an overall conceptual framework based on individual decisions as a function of occasion (i.e., job market and organizational hiring policies) and choice (i.e., expectancies as a function of personal goals and demographic characteristics).*

5. *Turnover, or movement out of agencies, may be of two major kinds: that which is unavoidable such as leaving due to resignation, illness, death, or "female" reasons (marriage, pregnancy, relocation of husband), and that which is avoidable, such as resignation and forced termination.*

6. *While the consequences of leaving the agency may be either favorable or unfavorable in the case of each form of turnover, it seems evident that the causes of unavoidable turnover, although more obvious, are less controllable. For example, it would necessitate an undoing of eons of evolutionary trends, both cultural and biological, to attempt to control turnover due to "female" causes. However, one thing that can be done is to gauge the frequency of its occurrence, and plan for suitable replacements quickly and efficiently. Also, those females who do leave the field for family reasons should be encouraged to return whenever they so desire.*

7. *As for the occurrence of avoidable forms of turnover, it would behoove the field to assess their causes in order to reduce their occurrence, or, if turnover is viewed positively, to develop rational and more or less formalized channels to diminish any concomitant negative effects.*

8. *The antecedents of avoidable turnover may be cast into two major molds: aspects of the situation which serve to reward and not to punish movement from one agency to another, and aspects of individual workers which affect the extent to which rewards and punishments are perceived as such; i.e., their goals, expectations, and demographic characteristics.*

9. *The rewards associated with turnover include the relief of personal goal frustrations which may have arisen at the former place of employment, and the expected (largely reality-based) gains to be attained in the new position. The disadvantages experienced in moving, which include the encountering of*

greater goal frustration at the new place or inability to achieve the position desired, are generally less potent than the rewards.

10. *In concrete terms, turnover is rewarded because the SWRS field is structured in such a way that frustration of individual goals, like promotion or adequate salary levels, is likely to occur within the agency and can be alleviated by moving to readily accessible jobs which in the main fulfill such goals as better salary and more status. It may be that such self-serving goals as salary and status are emphasized to a greater degree than professional ones because of lack of accomplishment by the entire field, which increases cynicism among workers. On the other hand, a worker may respond to failure of the field by leaving it altogether.*

11. *The reduction of turnover seems most feasible if availability of goals is increased and frustration reduced within the agency setting. Provision for upward and voluntary lateral mobility, intrinsically rewarding work content, and supervisory methods which allow for a sense of control, self-worth, and achievement, are examples of measures which might be taken.*

12. *The strategy of reducing turnover by increasing the aversions or disadvantages associated with it seems less feasible, since the job market would have to be tightened* and general practices, like provision of higher status and salary to a worker who joins an agency after gaining valuable experience at a previous one, would have to be altered. A possible means of tightening the labor market might be to increase the number of workers entering the field and to reduce the frequency of leaving the field entirely, especially by the most talented. Provision of appropriate initial socialization experiences and attractive work and work settings might help accomplish these ends. Of course, these measures would have a dual effect on turnover, since they would reward remaining with the agency as well as reduce the total number of vacancies in the field.*

13. *The main situational factors or moderators which may affect the dynamics of job mobility include location (rural or urban), size, sponsorship (private or public), function (planning or direct service), type of clientele, type of work with clients (casework or group work), method of providing service (full service public rehabilitation agency or a public agency which purchases services from private agencies), and organizational status (rehabilitation*

* Of course, the job market has become tighter recently because of a general economic decline which has evidently served as a potent reducer of turnover.

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agencies which are full state departments or those which are part of a department).

The opinions summarized above, although useful and provocative, must be regarded only as suggestive for at least two reasons. First, although the interviewees were well-informed individuals, they were after all only expressing opinions rather than necessarily reporting data-based facts. Second, the sample is limited both in numbers and in representativeness.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FROM THE RESPONDENT INTERVIEWS

Although the results of these interviews must be viewed as tentative because of the small size and possible unrepresentativeness of the sample, as well as limited by the method employed, the following findings seem noteworthy.

1. *The actual job changes of the workers interviewed appear to have a complex causation. Several factors are involved, including both self-serving (salary and benefits) and professional (work content, agency practices) considerations. Dissatisfactions with the past job were more likely to be of professional origin than of self-serving origin, even though the satisfaction expected from the new job was initially based primarily on self-serving factors. This suggests that individuals may be more prone to leave their jobs because of professional frustrations and to choose new ones on the basis of salary and other self-serving goals.*

2. *An actual job change seems to be made both because net satisfaction in the past job was quite low and because expected net satisfaction in the new job was high. Our conceptual framework is supported by this finding.*

3. *The complex causation of actual job change indicates that simplistic solutions to job mobility problems are unlikely to be effective.*

4. *A job change which is contemplated but not made involves the same kinds of factors as an actual job change. However, the net satisfaction associated with the job held is only slightly below a neutral point, while the net satisfaction expected in the contemplated job is only slightly above a neutral point. Thus, stronger differential attractiveness between the two jobs is associated with an actual, as compared to a contemplated, job change.*

5. *From the data concerning both workers' attitudes toward their present job and their general evaluations of the field, it appears that SWRS settings do not yield*

much net satisfaction of the goals of direct service workers and first-line supervisors, especially as regards work content. However, this may be a function of the type of agency.

6. *A continuum of "propensity to change jobs" was indicated by the findings, such that those at the high extreme have just changed jobs and those at the low extreme have never even considered a change. Many SWRS workers, because of their lack of net satisfaction, are not at the low extreme and may be seen to a degree as in a relatively chronic state of readiness to consider alternative jobs or actually change jobs.*

7. *Initial entry of SWRS personnel is due to such factors as a desire to work with and help people, the extent to which the qualities required by jobs in the field match the attributes the individual has to offer, the influence of significant others, and the chance to satisfy personal needs. These findings corroborate the work of other investigators and our conceptual framework on the causes of initial entry, as shown in Chapter 3 above.*

8. *The "ideal" job is likely to incorporate desired professional content (maximum client contact–minimum paperwork) of workers and supervisors, rather than self-serving desires (salary and benefits). An image of "selfish" orientation on the part of SWRS workers therefore seems inappropriate, if the possible influence of social desirability on responses can be discounted.*

9. *One factor which may be important in job mobility but which did not receive much attention in the literature is the lack of accomplishment by the field. As the Expert Informants suggested, this may increase the amount of cynicism among workers and decrease the extent to which they will continue to emphasize service goals as opposed to self-serving goals in their behavior.*

10. *The goal of change per se–that is, changing jobs for new experiences–was another factor which received little attention in literature, but which was implicated in actual and contemplated job mobility for some interviewees.*

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

The goals of the limited field investigation as described in the proposal for this study (Katzell, Korman, and Levine, 1971) were ". . . to help confirm the appropriateness of the variables [in the conceptual framework] to the social welfare and rehabilitation field and to identify others that may have been overlooked. [The limited field investigation] will also help clarify the practical feasibility of securing the various kinds of data needed for empirical studies based on the conceptual framework."

Two sources of information were seen as necessary for the accomplishment of these aims.

1. Interviews with 28 Expert Informants. As originally planned, the sample was to include five educators, five public officials, and ten agency directors or other key public and private personnel. Actually interviewed were five educators, nine public officials, and 14 agency directors or other key personnel. The focus of these interviews was the conceptual framework of worker job mobility. Responses were to be concerned with the mobility of workers in the field, not with the mobility of the interviewee. This group of individuals is designated as Informants (or Expert Informants) in the discussion to follow.

2. Interviews with 40 SWRS workers and first-line supervisors from a variety of settings. The foci of these interviews were a critical mobility incident (including its causes and consequences) in which a change was contemplated but not made (including the causes and consequences of this decision). Responses were to be concerned, as is obvious, with the mobility of the interviewee himself. Thus, this group of individuals is designated as Respondents in the discussion to follow.

INTERVIEWS WITH EXPERT INFORMANTS

SAMPLE AND METHOD

Characteristics of Those Interviewed

Twenty-eight Expert Informants comprise our sample, eight more than was originally anticipated.* (Some were interviewed simultaneously in a group setting.) The characteristics of the sample were as follows:

Educators (N = 5)

Two of the educators were deans of schools of social work; three were professors or associate professors in schools of social work.

*One other person interviewed was not included in the sample because the information provided was incomplete.

Public Officials (N=9)

The public officials included four state social service department officials, one state rehabilitation official, three urban social service department officials, and one federal official.

Agency Directors or Other Key Personnel (N = 14)*

This group included personnel from five public welfare agencies, one voluntary child welfare agency, one voluntary community organization, one group work agency, and six public and private rehabilitation agency directors or other key personnel.

The sampling strategy was designed to capture as diverse a group of SWRS spokesmen within the bounds of the twenty or so to be interviewed as possible. We believe that we have enjoyed some success in this effort. The differentiating features within this set of spokesmen include such breakdowns as:

Federal, state, and local positions

Public and private (sectarian and non-sectarian) agencies

Large and small agencies

Urban, suburban, and rural agencies

Group work, community organization, and casework agencies

Rehabilitation and social welfare agencies

Agencies serving children and adults, the poor, and the middle class

Educational institutions and in-field agencies

The choice of this set of SWRS spokesmen may be criticized on the grounds that it is drawn only from the Eastern sector of the country. Although that is obviously the case, this problem is alleviated to some degree by the fact that several of these individuals have worked in settings in other regions of the country. The adequacy of representation of the SWRS field as a whole on grounds other than regional by this set of individuals is undetermined at this point.

At any rate, the reader is cautioned that the small size of the sample and the regional bias (as well as other sources of bias, if any) may lead to a somewhat distorted picture of the mobility pattern in the field. However, these interviews comprise only one of three sources of information about mobility, and are to be utilized mainly as a supplement to the literature. (The Respondent interviews, of course, are the third source.)

* The authors realize that agency directors or key personnel of public SWRS facilities might also be classed as public officials, so that this distinction is somewhat arbitrary. However, interviews with agency directors tended to be more concerned with the functioning of a particular agency than with citywide, statewide, nationwide, or fieldwide mobility patterns.

To offset one possible source of distortion, that due to interviewers' idiosyncracies, all three senior research personnel in this study were involved in conducting the interviews.

Brief Review of the Interview Schedule

The interview schedule (presented in Appendix A) began by presenting the goals and methods of the study. Each Informant (or the group of Informants in the case of group interviews) was then asked to define the field from his own particular point of view to insure that his comments could be viewed in context. In the main, the definitions offered revealed that Informants confined themselves primarily to the mainstream of SWRS and were not including personnel in some "fringe" areas. Many of the agency directors or other key agency personnel confined their remarks to workers within their own agencies, none of which, we believe, would be excluded from a typical sample of SWRS agencies.

Next, worker job mobility was defined for the Informant. He was then given a list of forms of mobility and asked to comment on methods of measurement of those forms and the feasibility of the measurement methods cited. After this was accomplished, the Informant was asked to select the form (or forms) of mobility which posed the more serious problems for the field. Favorable and unfavorable consequences of the form or forms of mobility selected, as well as the antecedents, were elicited from the Informant. He also was asked to supply methods of measurement of both causes and consequences and to comment on the feasibility of these measurement techniques. A later question was concerned with practical recommendations for the prevention of undesirable forms of mobility or facilitation of desirable forms. Finally, moderator variables—that is, those variables which serve to alter the overall view of mobility in the field—and recommendations of relevant literature sources and other individuals to consult were sought. In the cases of several agency directors and other key personnel, their assistance was requested in securing approximately four direct service workers or supervisors for the Respondent interviews to be reported on in the second section of this chapter.

Originally, all forms of worker job mobility were to be covered (as specified under section III N of the Interview Schedule). However, because of time constraints, the schedule was scaled down to cover only the one or two most serious forms of worker job mobility, as chosen by the Informant. The interviews lasted two to four hours each.

Data Coding Method

The responses of the Expert Informants were classified into the following categories: Definition and Measurement; Consequences; External, Organizational, and Individual Antecedents; Recommendations for Action; and Moderators and Miscellaneous Comments. These were used for each of the three forms of mobility discussed—Initial Entry, Turnover, and Internal Mobility. Within each category,

major themes were abstracted. The findings are presented below in accordance with this coding scheme. In light of the small sample, it does not seem worthwhile to attach frequencies to response categories. Rather, the dynamic picture of mobility which emerged as a result of the pattern of responses will be presented.

It should be noted that the form of the interview schedule preordained that mobility types, causes, and consequences would be elicited. However, within the "antecedent" categories the information fits quite well with our view of the mobility process as a function of *choice* and *occasion*.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Initial Entry

Definition and Measurement

Initial entry was defined by implication only, both from the point of view of the individual as the first position in the field or as entry into a school of social work, and from the point of view of the agency as the first position of a worker within the agency.

(Some attention was given to the re-entry of women who leave the field for reasons of marriage, pregnancy, or relocation of husband.)

Nothing worthy of note was offered in terms of measurement methods either here or for any of the consequences and antecedents reported below.

Consequences of Initial Entry

The consequences of initial entry offered by the Expert Informants fall into two major classes: consequences to agencies and consequences to clients.

1. Consequences to Agencies

The agency may benefit by the entry of those interested in social change, because those who stay may render it more responsive to the demands placed upon it. In addition, those who enter the agency to take jobs only temporarily, do fill vacancies. If vacancies in certain public agencies remain unfilled for too long, the jobs may be done away with, although this may depend upon a particular state's policies and practices.

On the other hand, both types of individuals contribute to the agency's turnover problems. The social activist may experience a conflict between his goals and those of the agency and leave as a result. The less committed individual who has taken a job only for an interim period (e.g., to save money for travel) may resign at any time.

Certain public agencies are affected adversely, to a degree, by their inability or unwillingness to hire individuals above the entry level.

Many agencies, public and private, have been compelled to undertake costly training programs to train their own MSW's, who are in scarce supply. Furthermore, owing to the lack of trained manpower, agencies must hire whoever is available.

2. Consequences to Clients

The opinions here were somewhat contradictory. Some felt that hiring paraprofessionals (and professionals) with characteristics similar to those of the clients served has beneficial effects. However, others questioned the assumption that workers can help clients merely because they can communicate with them.

Antecedents of Initial Entry

1. External Antecedents

The job market, which is an aspect of *occasion* in our conceptual framework, is seen as an influence on mobility. Shortage of personnel and job vacancies led many to choose a career in the SWRS field. Several factors were enumerated which altered the availability of jobs for certain kinds of individuals:

- The lack of clarity and uncertainty of service objectives has led to a reshaping of the organizational structures of many agencies, thereby creating jobs for paraprofessional personnel. To the extent that the SWRS field cannot demonstrate objectively its accomplishments, funds will be withheld and the number of jobs reduced.
- Funding by federal, state, and local governments affects the availability of jobs. Recently, a job freeze and cutbacks in a variety of areas have reduced the number of jobs. Moreover, as part of an economy drive, more paraprofessional jobs have opened up at the expense of professional positions.
- Schools of social work have limited capacities.
- The existence of discriminatory hiring policies affects the number of openings, e.g., for females or blacks. On the other hand, in some settings job opportunities for minority group members have been increasing. The civil service system itself may reduce job availability for many at the entry level and above.
- The increasing number of part-time positions creates opportunities for women with family responsibilities. However, this practice seems not as widely prevalent in the field as it might be.

Another factor is the prestige of the field of social work which has suffered markedly because it is a "scapegoat" for society's ills. This may act as a deterrent to potential candidates for SWRS jobs.

2. Organizational Antecedents

Agencies may affect the entry of personnel in several ways according to the Expert Informants.

- Most simply, the kinds of jobs provided by the agency will serve to attract individuals suited to the openings. Rehabilitation agencies, for example, may utilize a wide variety of individuals such as teachers, counselors, prosthetists, work evaluators, and sheltered workshop foremen.

  Agency selection, screening, and hiring policies also affect the kinds of individuals taken in. For example, sectarian agencies may "hire their own". Use of civil service tests may preclude entry of minority group members, even if their interest, experience, and commitment are high, for they may be poor test-takers. Agencies may otherwise specify the kinds of individuals they wish to hire. Some may prefer middle-class, middle-aged women with grown children. Others may desire competent individuals who are "on the move" rather than those who are listless and less competent even though they are likely to stay. ("Job-hopping" is uniformly a negatively evaluated background characteristic.) Still others would like minority group members and/or males.

- Agencies may reorganize, thereby increasing or decreasing the total number of jobs or the number in a given job category. The recent reorganization of some state public welfare departments, which has served to increase the number of jobs for caseworker aides and technicians, is a case in point.

- Agencies may influence entry by attempting to meet the anticipated needs of potential applicants. The increased starting salaries in public SWRS agencies, the provision of flexible hours for mothers, the establishment of career ladders in public welfare from the caseworker aide to the administrator level—were all cited. At times the organization may be limited by external constraints in its capacity for responding to the needs of new personnel. As an instance, the presence of a union, for which parity of salary is an issue, may preclude the offering of higher salaries to attract especially competent people.

- The sheer length of time it takes to appoint new recruits may prevent or dissuade many from taking a job. One public agency administrator indicated that at his agency it takes four months from

the time an applicant presents himself to the time he starts work. (This assertion may not be true of other locations.)*

3. Individual Antecedents

In terms of our conceptual framework, the question of what goals, expectancies, or other characteristics of individuals have led them to choose a career in the SWRS field has been dealt with by the Expert Informants.

The goals of the new entrants include: the desire for social change; the capacity to return to the field after leaving the field for reasons of marriage, pregnancy, etc.; the desire for concrete action which is relatively unhampered by great intellectual demands; and the desire to work with and help people.

The intellectual ability of the female entrants is presumably quite high, while "second-quartile" males are attracted.

Other characteristics mentioned were—that many who choose a career in the SWRS field have BA's in social science and perceive no job opportunities with only a BA degree in other fields; that many are "second careerists" who have had experience in other fields, such as education; and that many take the job as a stopgap until something better comes along.

Recommendations for Action

Several recommendations were offered primarily to increase the entry of new workers of all types. These included: enhancing the image of social work; fostering movement of newly trained workers into the most needy areas; providing part-time work to accommodate working women; developing more suitable selection and hiring policies; and having voluntary social work agencies hire workers who share personal characteristics with clients, so that the needs of clients might be better satisfied.

Moderators and Miscellaneous Comments

One comment worthy of note was that all those entering the social welfare field should work in a large public agency because of the diversity of problems dealt with.

Turnover

Definition, Patterns, and Measurement

Turnover was defined, by implication only, as leaving the employment of an agency. The concept was further refined in terms of broad classes of reasons

*This may be an appropriate time to remind the reader once again that the Expert Informants are giving responses which are limited to personal experiences and impressions only. To the extent that these are derived from one setting, their general applicability may be called into question.

for leaving such as resignation, retirement, illness, and lateral movement or upward movement between agencies. Salary increments and differences in type of agency between present and previous job were suggested as a way to differentiate lateral-between-agency from upward-between-agency mobility.

Generally, the feeling among the Expert Informants was that agency records are poor or incomplete for research purposes. They are especially deficient in not indicating the position assumed after leaving the agency. However, this state of affairs may be qualified to a degree by county or agency differences in the adequacy of record-keeping. Furthermore, file folders of individuals often contain past work histories; but these are prepared by the worker to be suitable to the particular job he wishes to attain and may therefore be incomplete. In terms of their feasibility, individual records are subject to difficulty of access, and it takes a great deal of time and effort to extract the relevant data. Almost uniformly the Expert Informants felt that questionnaire surveys are of greater merit.

As far as frequency of occurrence is concerned, the turnover figures offered seem to imply that in the past, urban public welfare agencies had the highest annual separation rate and the largest proportion of workers leaving the SWRS field. Private social work agencies and public and private rehabilitation agencies exhibited a lower amount of turnover. At present, the poor job market has markedly reduced turnover rates.

Overall trends, according to Expert Informants, reveal that direct service personnel have higher rates of turnover, as do younger and/or newly employed workers. Also, public welfare agencies have experienced a great deal of attrition among the brightest baccalaureates during the first five years of their employment, as well as among those who have completed their commitments to the agency in return for support of their graduate training. The latter group evidently moves to private agencies, the former out of the field altogether.

There is relatively little dismissal or forced resignation, except perhaps during the first few months of employment, which is a probationary period in many agencies.

When workers leave the field, they are likely to move into such positions as housewife and mother, teacher, guidance counselor, or businessman. The question of female mobility is seemingly situation-specific; some see it as a serious problem, others do not.

Consequences of Turnover

Measures of consequences are evidently difficult to devise. First, records are ruled out altogether. Second, there is a dearth of evaluative criteria; the only two remotely possible sources of evidence are the research efforts of the Family Service Association of America and of those who are developing social indicators. Third, measuring the costs of turnover seems utterly impractical and would involve an enormous amount of work. Even if they were computed, the particular

bookkeeping or accounting method used might render them over- or under-estimates. Finally, subjective evaluations by clients are subject to distortion because they may use the questionnaire survey as a forum for grievances. In addition, if the client has only one supplier of services, how can he tell whether or not the service supplied is as good as it might be? Actually, obtaining their evaluations in the first place could pose a problem, since some clients may be inarticulate and also may change their place of residence rather frequently.

With regard to one of the positive consequences of turnover -namely, increased adaptability of the agency—perhaps agency administrators could be utilized to measure it.

Turning to the consequences actually mentioned, it is evident from the replies of the Expert Informants that effects of turnover are largely a matter of personal opinion.

Some indicated that the consequences are favorable, as illustrated by the comments that agencies become more creative, less stagnant, more adaptable; and that individuals, partly because they are free to move, can attain more salary, status, and, in the case of women who leave to raise a family, greater maturity. Indeed, one was magnanimous enough to say that other fields benefitted because the skills the social worker has to offer after he has worked for a while are well suited to effective performance in those fields. Also, if turnover is too low, upward mobility opportunities may be limited.

Others were more or less neutral. They felt that agencies adapt to cope with the problem, that clients may be affected psychologically but not in terms of material services, that workers do not necessarily become cynical or have to adjust to radically different jobs. The movement away from one-to-one casework in public welfare has also reduced the adverse consequences of turnover. Moreover, it would have to be demonstrated to one Informant that staying at one agency is better for the worker in terms of growth of skills than moving on to others.

Still others, perhaps the largest group, were more concerned about the negative impact of turnover. A major effect for several was the movement of the most talented and/or best-trained individuals out of the direct service ranks, which presumably affects the quality of services offered. One informant felt that the middle-class client receives the best services as a result of the professional's movement out of certain depressed areas. Another was concerned that the high-ability workers in public welfare, who were counted on to provide the bulk of services, are leaving the field altogether. Other effects on the agency mentioned were the necessity for selecting whoever was available to fill job vacancies and the disruption of agency-community relationships.

Costs in terms of money and manpower are great, especially if the worker leaves during his first year. As for turnover by those with graduate degrees, one estimate given was that a public welfare agency must invest $30,000 to train an MSW, which is lost when he leaves. Of course it should be noted that much of this cost is borne by the federal government, so that the actual cost to the agency is less. Others stated that it takes six months to a year until a new worker can attain

an adequate level of functioning. In aggregate the social costs may become enormous.

Individual clients whose workers leave may be affected adversely. For example, in foster care agencies, the worker in many cases is the child's only source of stability and security. When the worker leaves, the child may lose trust and become less able to cope with his situation.

Workers too are affected negatively. They may become "hardened" to defend against the guilt caused by leaving. As an example of this, one Informant stated that workers become more concerned about agencies as places to work than about clients' problems. Furthermore, each move may necessitate that, on the one hand, other workers at the resignee's previous agency assume his duties, which reduces morale and adequate work performance and, on the other, that the resignee may have to undergo a marked readjustment to the methods of his new agency. In addition, when the worker moves out of direct service, he may no longer use the full range of skills and abilities which have developed over the years. Mitigating this effect, it should be noted, is the possibility that in a supervisory capacity the worker may impart many skills to others as part of his teaching function.

Antecedents

With regard to measures of antecedents, the Expert Informants were unanimous in rejecting agency records as a possible source of data. One informant went so far as to say that records containing reasons for leaving are "garbage heaps of personal impressions." However, questionnaire surveys may be inaccurate as well, since workers may not wish to express their dissatisfactions openly for fear that they will receive poor references. Also, agency "opinion leaders" may distort the responses of many.

One suggestion was rather interesting. As a measure of a presumed external antecedent to turnover—namely, social and/or community support for the field—it was proposed that the percentage of community budgets or the percentage of the gross national product going for social services be used.

1. External Antecedents

External antecedents of all forms of turnover offered by the Expert Informants were quite varied. Broadly speaking, the replies offer evidence that various aspects of the society and the professional field influence occasion and the individuals goals, attitudes and expectancies (choice), all of which lie behind the occurrence of turnover.

Occasion. The state of the labor market, which had been good, contributed to turnover. During the sixties, for a variety of reasons, the total number of jobs increased. Also, jobs often opened up in new fields, such as community mental health, and the social work labor force responded by moving

into them. Moreover, experienced personnel were in the past confronted by many new jobs which involved upward mobility opportunities.

More recently, the Expert Informants note both a decrease in the number of jobs due to cutbacks in funding and retrenchment within the field itself. Resignation rates have decreased in response, while involuntary termination has increased. Further, such factors as mandatory retirement age, the profession's unwillingness to utilize forced termination, and civil service regulations all affect involuntary separation.

Effects of external characteristics on individual goals, attitudes, and expectancies. Various structural characteristics of the field alter the extent to which individuals may satisfy their goals. The Expert Informants were quite emphatic in indicating that the hierarchical character of the field leads to an attachment of greater prestige and other rewards to supervisory and administrative as opposed to direct service positions. The individual's expectancies with respect to how best to achieve the rewards offered are affected to the extent that he realizes he must move upward to get them. Differentials in salary among subfields of SWRS and between the entire field and other occupations operate to cause turnover in similar fashion.

Other external influences affect turnover by altering the goals of workers. For example, schools of social work were seen by some Informants as training "rebels" who are unprepared for the realities of working in an agency. Also, the schools contribute to turnover because they inculcate the value of acquiring a broad base of skill. Since the majority of agencies do not at present provide for within-agency lateral mobility or for generalized practice, between-agency moves occur.

Other external antecedents which affect or alter the individual's goals include:

- The prevailing social norms, which have led (most obviously) to women leaving the field for the socially acceptable role of wife and mother, as well as to a growth of restlessness in general.
- The presence of a union, through which an individual can express grievances and accomplish certain goals, or because of whose perhaps unprofessional activities the individual becomes frustrated.
- The lack of accomplishment of goals or alleviation of social ills by the entire profession, which results in norms of dissatisfaction and cynicism.

Indeed the last factor, along with attacks against the profession by individuals or groups in the society at large, has evidently caused mobility out of the field because of the individual's perceived inability to attain his professional goals, and to escape frustration, anywhere in the field. Both factors also lead to an alteration in the priorities of the goals of individuals within the field. Personal goals (money and status) become increasingly important, service goals less so.

2. Organizational Antecedents

Four major categories of organizational antecedents to turnover have been offered by the Expert Informants. They are: the extent to which agencies provide for or alter the goals of their workers; work group conflicts; faulty personnel intake and socialization procedures; and structural characteristics.

Extent to which agencies provide for or alter the goals of their workers. Organizational settings are seen as more or less capable of satisfying individual goals. To the extent that they offer less opportunity for material well-being, a sense of achievement, satisfaction of security and autonomy needs and professional goals, turnover in the form of resignation increases. Specifically cited as influences on these goals are low salaries, overly high caseloads, routine jobs with excessive paperwork, lack of a say in decision-making, supervisory methods which are too close, lack of career ladders for certain types of personnel, instability of jobs in terms of various pressures, blockage of promotional channels by long-tenure individuals, failure to accomplish the nominal goals and missions of the organization.

The policy of reorganizing public welfare was undertaken as a response to some of these issues. Its impact to date has been less than clearcut, since the Informants were divided as to whether it has in fact led to greater accomplishment of goals and made jobs more professional. Indeed some Informants have complained that the changeover was imposed with little leeway for the local agency to adjust procedures to local conditions.

Private agencies, by contrast, are seen as easier to work in and more optimistic in atmosphere.

Sometimes, according to the Expert Informants, agencies may satisfy individual goals *too* well, which raises the worker's level of aspiration. As an instance, some agencies offer excellent opportunities for the development of greater proficiency. They are called training agencies; and evidently a norm arises which leads workers to join for a time, learn, and then move on. In public agencies, this takes the form of serving out the commitment a worker makes in return for the support of his graduate studies, and then leaving.

Work group conflicts. As depicted by the Informants such conflicts may take the form of paraprofessional-professional competition, or conflict over scarce agency resources by those in various agency subgroups.

Faulty personnel intake and socialization procedures. Many agencies are accused by the Expert Informants of using poor screening and selection procedures. Too often, persons with unrealistic expectations are hired, only to resign within a short period of time. The formalized procedure of using probationary periods may alleviate this problem to some degree. On the other

hand, many workers who are appointed provisionally are forced to leave because they cannot pass the civil service examination.

Poor orientation procedures, placement which results in a mismatch between skills and abilities, and lack of adequate training programs are all examples of faulty socialization procedures.

Structural characteristics. Several instances are offered under this heading. "Tall",* large agencies provide for greater promotional opportunities, which serves to increase the chances of retaining personnel. Reorganization, with concomitant forced transfers and the abolition of various jobs, increases both voluntary and involuntary turnover. On the other hand, inability to move laterally within the agency may also lead to resignation. The effectiveness of the communication structure, especially as it allows for keeping abreast of worker's feelings and grievances, is yet another contributing factor cited.

3. Individual Antecedents

Major themes offered may be categorized as either goals and expectations or demographic characteristics. In the area of goals and expectations, frustration of desires for money or advancement, education, a helping as opposed to an investigative role, glamor jobs in new areas, different geographic location, marriage and/or family, all lead to turnover. In some cases, the lack of professional goals on the part of the individual may lead to turnover, as in the case of those who join public welfare agencies to save for travel or until a better job comes along. On the other hand, a number of lethargic individuals, who are perhaps more likely to be found in secure civil service positions, are unlikely to leave. Their major goal is to collect their pensions.

Furthermore, many Informants stressed unrealistic expectations as a cause of turnover. Some felt that these are created by unrealistic schooling, others that they are the result of lack of exposure to field-related courses at the undergraduate level. The former alternative, in one informant's opinion, cannot be altered. Too much realism, in this individual's opinion, would prevent people from entering the field at all. Another source of unrealistic expectations is developed by a lack of clear objectives in the field. In this amorphous situation, the individual is free to generate whatever expectations about the field fit his needs.

As for demographic characteristics, the following were offered:

- Many are overqualified for the positions they hold. In the past baccalaureates scoring highest on civil service examinations were quickest to leave. The tight job market has evidently resulted in a

* That is, having a large number of hierarchical levels. A "flat" organizational structure has a small number of levels.

whole host of jobs being filled by individuals who are too highly qualified.

– Sex, age, tenure, and educational level are all associated with turnover. For example, there is evidently a "critical period" of high turnover risk during the first five years. If the individual remains beyond this time period, he is likely to stay for good. Also, female reasons for turnover, such as marriage and motherhood, are an important cause of turnover in the opinions of some Informants.

Recommendations

Recommendations with regard to turnover, as given by the Expert Informants, varied as a function of whether its consequences were viewed positively or negatively.

To stimulate desirable turnover, the following suggestions were mentioned:

- Develop interagency cooperation to allow transfers.
- Provide generalizable professional training.
- Select those who are not tenure-oriented.
- Open top jobs to female workers.

To reduce undesirable turnover an *agency manager* should:

- Create better orientation and training programs.
- Emphasize better supervisory methods.
- Select males (to cut female turnover) and/or those who are more committed to staying*.
- Work toward better union-management relations.
- Broaden the agency's focus and/or allow for lateral mobility within the agency.
- Prevent the agency from spreading itself too thin to accomplish its missions.
- Attempt to get workers and clients on boards of directors.
- Use evaluations and career interviews to determine where the worker is headed and how he stands with regard to his goals.
- Reward good performance at the direct service level, perhaps by creating a "master practitioner" level.

* This recommendation is partly based on the assumption that females turn over more than males. The data in the chapter on turnover indicate that this is untrue.

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- Create a centralized personnel department and/or see to it that good personnel practices are followed.
- Use exit interviews (checked for accuracy) to assess causes of turnover.
- If turnover cannot feasibly be reduced, steps might be taken to alleviate its adverse consequences; *e.g.*, move to a team approach rather than 1:1 casework.

To reduce undesirable turnover by fostering more realistic expectations, *educators* should:

- Develop more reality-oriented educational programs.
- Introduce courses at the undergraduate level.
- Set up summer job programs for students.

To reduce undesirable turnover by means of scientific investigation, *researchers* should:

- Attempt to determine appropriate training methods to get people to stay.
- Do research which discriminates among the various forms of turnover.
- Publicize research findings to make the issue visible.
- Validate exit interview procedures.

To reduce undesirable turnover, *power figures* should:

- Attempt to change the priorities of the society to reduce the emphasis on upward mobility and mobility out of depressed areas.

Moderators

Several variables were offered which may serve to alter more general findings on the dynamics of mobility in the SWRS field.

The various breakdowns mentioned include:

Rural (slow pace, close co-worker relations, better communications between workers and supervisors, fewer opportunities for promotion and further education) vs. urban agencies.

Group work vs. casework agencies.

Private (more optimistic, but poorer) vs. public agencies.

Planning agencies (salaries better, but more affected by government funding; people enter at higher levels) v. direct service.

Large vs. small agencies.

Full-service public rehabilitation facilities vs. public rehabilitation facilities which purchase services from private agencies.

Public rehabilitation facilities which are full state departments vs. those which are not.

Rehabilitation vs. social service agencies.

Also cited were geographic regional differences and community characteristics such as the manpower pool available to an agency and the clientele it serves.

At the individual level, discriminatory hiring and promotion policies have made the career patterns of minority group members different from those of majority group members.

Miscellaneous Comments

The Informants offered a few comments which were not easily classifiable into the categories above. However, they may clarify the nature of certain forms of mobility or offer some valuable information in general.

From our point of view as researchers, two comments were enlightening. First, research will presumably be resented unless feedback is provided to those involved relatively soon after the data are collected. Second, the Social Work Vocational Bureau may prove a valuable source of information in future studies of individual career patterns.

More generally, various conflicts were cited whose relationship to the turnover of workers was not clear-cut. Examples include: the disparity between the schools (which are turning out "rebels") and agencies which are beginning to consider alternative methods of training other than graduate schools; the conflict between accomplishment of professional goals and work in an agency setting, which in and of itself may mitigate against such accomplishment; and the conflict over power, since clients and workers are not typically represented in agency policy-making bodies.

Finally, some comments were directed toward a description of the status quo. For example, females, according to some, will not protest about their lack of opportunity because they are culture-bound and will support the wife and mother role. Thus, the field will have to adjust to this kind of mobility.

Also, the enormous problems in the field seem to produce cynicism in workers.

Internal Mobility

Definition, Patterns, and Measurement

The Expert Informants provided the following information with regard to the definition, patterns, and measurement of mobility within the agency:

Downward mobility or demotion seems to consist primarily of a change from one job level to a lower one. Evidently, it occurs very rarely. When it does occur, it may be the result of a provisional promotion which is rescinded. One interviewee indicated that mobility downward may mean out of the agency. Another Informant offered the view that if a person stays at the same job level for too long, he is in effect going downward.

Lateral mobility is seen as a change in title, job duties, and/or agency department without a change in job level. Rarely, there may be a change of duties and responsibilities without a change in title. With the reorganization of some public social welfare agencies, the incidence of lateral mobility in those agencies has increased. However, it is generally not very frequent. There are two kinds of lateral mobility: involuntary or forced transfers; and voluntary transfers.

Upward mobility or promotion is viewed as a change from one job level in the organizational hierarchy to another higher up in that hierarchy. Sometimes upward mobility may consist of movement into a job with more options for further moves. Or it may mean an increase in responsibilities without a change in job level; e.g., a caseworker is given more difficult cases.

The role of salary increments in distinguishing between lateral and upward moves and among the various kinds of lateral and upward moves was not mentioned.

To be more specific about the job levels referred to above, two examples of hierarchies, which may be more or less typical, (as described by two Expert Informants) are in ascending order:

1. Levels in a State Rehabilitation Division

Entry Level Jobs: Trainee; Vocational Rehabilitation Counselor

Senior Counselor (supervisor in charge of six counselors)
Associate District Counselor
Area Director (principal rehabilitation counselor)
Director, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation
Administrator, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation
Associate Commissioner for Vocational Rehabilitation

2. Levels in a private child welfare agency

   Social Worker 1
   Social Worker 2
   Social Worker 3
   Supervisor
   Administrative Supervisor
   Assistant Director
   Associate Director
   Executive Director

The incidence of promotion in large public agencies is rather frequent, according to the Expert Informants. Indeed, the rate of promotion may exceed the resignation rate in certain kinds of agencies. However, actual figures were not given; in the case of small agencies, neither opinions nor data were offered on the incidence of promotion.

As far as measures are concerned, reports on the quality of agencywide records on downward, lateral, and upward mobility were variable. There was agreement that individual file folders are complete. However, as stated in a previous section, gaining access to them is a problem because of their confidential nature and the time involved in extracting the information.

Nothing worthy of note emerged in terms of measurement procedures for the consequences and antecedents reported below.

Consequences of Internal Mobility

Upward mobility may have both favorable and unfavorable consequences. If too rapid, it elevates those who may lack the necessary experience and seasoning. Promotion on the basis of more or less irrelevant criteria such as sex, ethnic origin, or possession of the MSW, could affect quality of service and decrease agency morale. For example, possession of an MSW does not necessarily mean that a worker will be a good supervisor. Another negative consequence cited is that good workers are taken out of direct service, which affects clients adversely. However, this may be mitigated somewhat if the worker continues to treat some clients after the promotion.

On the positive side, when talented individuals are promoted, they gain some measure of influence over agency practices, which should lead to better service delivery. Also, the policies of promoting from within and supporting study for a master's degree assure to some extent that those promoted will be familiar both with the agency and with the profession.

Lateral mobility, both voluntary and involuntary, is seen as having a broadening effect on the worker. However, involuntary lateral mobility does cause some frustration. For example, personnel in reorganizing public welfare agencies are having a difficult time adjusting to the changeover to separate income maintenance and social service programs; those with MSW's claim they do not wish to be managers.

Downward mobility when it occurs is seen to have a shocking effect. It could serve to get people "off their duffs" and could increase morale if incompetent individuals were not automatically given promotions which cannot be rescinded later. On the contrary, it could disrupt morale.

Antecedents of Internal Mobility

1. External Antecedents

Societal norms affect internal mobility. Women are discriminated against, as are minority group members, thereby reducing upward mobility opportunities for these groups.

2. Organizational Antecedents

Upward mobility. Agencies have affected the number of opportunities for promotion in several ways, according to Expert Informants. First, if they adopt a policy of promoting from within, opportunities for promotion are increased. Other policy decisions may also affect promotional opportunities. For example, if it is decided to increase the caseloads of caseworkers, the number of caseworkers will not grow and the number of supervisory positions will not increase. Furthermore, reorganization of public welfare into income maintenance and social services has presumably reduced promotional opportunities for social work professionals but increased them for clerical and fiscal workers and holders of a master's degree in such fields as business administration or accounting. In addition, the agency may create an additional hierarchical level (or set of levels), although this procedure may be difficult, since decisions on the criteria for the new position, be it "senior social worker" or "senior occupational therapist" are not easily made. One other means of expanding promotional opportunities for the work staff was mentioned: provision of financial assistance for study toward a master's degree.

The nature of promotional criteria is also a factor. They may be too stringent, and thus limit opportunity; or they may be biased against certain types of individuals (such as women or minority group members, as indicated above) or in favor of others (such as psychoanalytically oriented social workers over community organization specialists in mental health facilities). In public agencies, promotions are a function of merit lists and civil service tests.

Upward mobility opportunities may also be limited by the clogging of channels by long-tenure supervisors and/or administrators.

Structural facilities such as size (which may be related to private vs. public and rural vs. urban factors) and/or "flat" hierarchies limit promotional opportunities as well. The number of service programs offered by an agency contributes to the flatness of its hierarchy. For example, in private rehabilitation agencies, occupational therapists and social workers may operate under separate lines of authority so that promotional opportunities within each are few.

Lateral mobility. The Expert Informants have pointed out that involuntary lateral mobility sometimes results from reorganization. No formal channels have been set up to provide opportunities for voluntary lateral mobility on a permanent basis. However, some agencies may be moving in that direction. Voluntary lateral mobility occurs only if the desire for it is expressed by a worker, if an opening is available, and if the agency does not foresee that it will be inconvenienced by the change.

Of course, the size of the agency is directly related to the opportunity for lateral movement.

Downward mobility. Downward mobility can only occur, according to the Informants, if supervisors keep accurate records of incidents of poor performance. Group norms within the agency are in general set against downward mobility as cruel and counter to the professional values of the field.

3. Individual Antecedents

Certain characteristics of individuals were cited as antecedents of internal mobility. For one, possession of the MSW has become irrelevant for promotion in the newly established income maintenance divisions of some public social welfare agencies. Also, people are seen as resistant to formal programs of lateral mobility which would require them to try their hand at jobs outside their specialty.

Recommendations

One thoughtful recommendation had to do with the relevance of promotional criteria. Since those in powerful positions within an agency may affect service delivery, it is seen as necessary that the individuals promoted have appropriate qualifications. Thus, in public agencies, civil service systems should be modified to give more weight to experience and to use more suitable tests. Voluntary agencies should be altered to be responsive to qualities other than race or ethnic origin in their promotional policies, especially if clients and agency incumbents differ along these lines. Perhaps one way to accomplish this is to have clients appointed to the boards of directors.

Another recommendation was concerned with the need for strong, true evaluations to let people know where they stand with regard to promotional (or demotional) prospects. To assure objectivity of the evaluations, several evaluators should be employed.

Within-Agency Moderators and Miscellaneous Comments

Nothing worthy of note to report here.

INTERVIEWS WITH SOCIAL WELFARE AND REHABILITATION WORKERS AND FIRST-LINE SUPERVISORS

SAMPLE AND METHOD

Characteristics of Those Interviewed

As was the case with our Expert Informants sampling strategy, it was intended that the sample of Respondents be diverse rather than representative of an indeterminate SWRS universe. We have, it is believed, succeeded in this aim. The Respondents varied on the following background dimensions (among others, to be sure):

Marital status (single, married, divorced, widowed)

Highest education completed (high school equivalency to master's degree holders).

Age (early twenties to early fifties)

Sex

Race

Job level (paraprofessionals, preprofessionals, and professional practitioners, and first-line supervisors)

Job duties (physical therapy, occupational therapy, vocational rehabilitation counseling, workshop evaluation, supervision of rehabilitation counseling, casework, income maintenance work, supervision of social service teams, group work, group worker supervision, community organization)

The sample was drawn from employees of agencies which vary as to size, location (urban, suburban, rural), sponsorship (public, and private sectarian and nonsectarian), function (planning, direct service), and field of service (welfare, rehabilitation, health, mental health, child welfare). A limitation of the sample was that no one who had left the field was included.

Brief Review of the Interview Schedule

The interview schedule (presented in Appendix B) began with a very brief statement of the goal of the interview: to assist in the development of a picture of career patterns in the SWRS field. Confidentiality of the individual respondent's comments was guaranteed. Next, to set the context, the respondent was asked about the nature of his present job. Then the critical mobility incident (most recent change of job) was elicited,* including its causes and consequences and the

* Past research suggests that findings based on critical incident interviews should be considered tentative until supported by other investigatory methods. The reader should be aware of this in assessing the results.

nature of the previous position. After this, the respondent was asked about the most recent job change which he contemplated but did not make (critical incident of non-mobility), including causes and consequences. A set of questions was concerned with the circumstances surrounding the respondent's entry into the field. Finally, there was an open-ended question dealing with any additional factors associated with the individual's career pattern. The interview closed with the collection of a few items of background information.

Data Coding Method

All responses were recorded on 3 x 5 index cards and sorted as follows:

1. Critical mobility incident

Secondary internal sorts were based on both factors impelling leaving or staying in the previous job, and expectations (both factors favoring leaving and factors favoring staying) concerning the "new" job (actually the present job, since the most recent job change would have been from a previous job to the present one). Consequences of the change were also sorted into favorable and unfavorable classes.

2. Critical incident of non-mobility

Secondary internal sorts were based on those experiences of the present job (again including those impelling leaving and those impelling staying) and both positive and negative expectations concerning the job contemplated. Consequences of not going through with the change were also sorted into favorable and unfavorable classes.

3. Initial entry

All cards concerned with entry into the field were placed in this category.

4. Positive and negative evaluations of the field

Secondary internal sorts were based on kinds of evaluations, either positive or negative.

5. Characteristics of the ideal job in the SWRS field

A final sort was designed to extract the major themes suggested by the various statements within each of the categories mentioned above. These will be set out in the Results and Discussion section.*

* This coding scheme is not necessarily recommended as an appropriate vehicle for classifying responses to similar questions in other studies, primarily because tests were not made on the extent to which the final categories within major breakdowns were mutually exclusive and reliable. Further, the purpose in mind when the coding scheme was devised was to insure that as many different themes as possible were elicited; i.e., hypotheses and suggestions for future definitive work were sought. Thus, using the number of responses falling into a given class as a criterion, those with other purposes in mind might be led to the conclusion that the data were too widely spread out.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Factors Leading to Actual Job Change and Consequences of Change

Table 5 contains antecedents and consequences of the most recent actual job change from a past job to the present one. The responses on antecedents lent themselves to classification on the basis of the *experienced* net satisfaction associated with the previous job (goal satisfactions in the previous job minus goal frustrations) and the *expected* net satisfaction (goal satisfaction expected in the new job minus frustrations) to be gotten from the "new" job. The total number of responses cited clearly illustrates that goal frustrations associated with the old

Table 5

Forces Leading to Actual Mobility and Consequences of Taking a New Job* (by frequency of endorsement)

	Goal satisfactions and frustrations experienced in previous job		*Goal satisfactions and frustrations expected in new job*	
	Satisfactions	*Frustrations*	*Satisfactions*	*Frustrations*
Professional goals:				
Client-related	6	10	4	0
Supervision	2	20	3	0
Work content	12	22	7	3
Agency practices, goals, and missions	11	33	7	0
Subtotal	31	85	21	3
"Selfish" goals:				
Salary and benefits	1	4	7	2
Promotion or opportunity for promotion	0	5	4	1
Personal convenience	0	6	9	3
Goal of change per se	0	0	8	0
Personal needs	2	7	0	0
Subtotal	3	22	28	6
Group relations	4	9	0	0
Miscellaneous	1	9	0	2
Subtotal	5	18	0	2
Total	39	125	49	11

Table 5–(continued)

Consequences based on leaving past job

Favorable		*Unfavorable*	
Was able to be placed	2	Personal conflict	7
Felt personal relief	2	Loss to agency and clients	13
Previous agency benefitted by leaving	2	Hard to give up good job	2
Left job with no opportunity for advancement	1		22
	7		

Consequences based on taking new job

Favorable		*Unfavorable*	
Professional:		Less satisfying work	10
New Experience)		Negative consequences to clients	2
Gain in knowledge)	12	Less pay	4
Opportunity for) more training)		Miscellaneous	1
Positive consequences for clients	7		17
More satisfying work	26		
Agency benefits	6		
Personal:			
Promotion or opportunity for promotion	4		
More pay and benefits	8		
Miscellaneous	3		
	66		

*This "new job" is actually the present job, since the respondent is describing his most recent job change.

job (125 mentions) far exceeded the goal satisfactions (39 mentions). Further, expectations were that the new job would yield more goal satisfactions than frustrations (49 to 11).

For this sample of respondents it seems that those antecedents to a job change which were centered in the past job consist more of "professional" goal frustrations (85 responses) than of frustrations of that "self-serving" goal which is a most popular explanation for job change–namely, salary and benefits. Even promotional opportunity, which was cited as a potent factor by the Expert Informants, does not seem to carry as much weight as supervision or work content. On the other hand, where the future job is concerned, self-serving goal satisfactions are mentioned slightly more (28 mentions) than professional goal

satisfaction (21 mentions). Perhaps this is due to the fact that the attributes of the future job which are concerned with personal goal satisfaction, such as salary and benefits, are more readily apparent when the individual is canvassing for a job.

The reasons themselves were of two major types: "professional" and "self-serving." Professional goals, both satisfactions and frustrations, involved in an actual job change include: client-related reasons (good rapport with clients, not enough client contact), supervision (militant supervision, supervisor never worked), work content (could implement new ideas, too much paperwork), agency practices, goals and missions (knowing how all the agency's work fits together, agency training programs, agency did not try to effect change).

Self-serving goals included: salary and benefits, promotion or opportunity for promotion, personal convenience (job location near school of attendance, too many hours), goal of change per se (primarily with regard to a new job, new experience, new client groups) and personal needs (prestige associated with job, job insecurity). It is noteworthy that the goal of change per se receives very little attention in the literature.

The category "group relations" was a complex mobility antecedent which was not amenable to classification as either a professional or a self-serving goal, since it involved an indeterminate mixture of the professional quality of co-workers and their personal qualities as friends.

The "miscellaneous" category included reasons not easily placed in other categories, such as: after being in field a long time one hesitates to move; parents resistant to referrals to a social worker; taxing job.

Generally, the data of Table 5 demonstrate that the antecedents to an actual job change are quite complex and varied. Thus, simplistic suggestions for reducing mobility, such as the often-cited remedy—raising salaries—are unlikely to have a great deal of impact.

The consequences of the job change as shown in Table 5 reflect the fact that the assumption by the individual of a better situation in the *new* job was borne out; i.e., the behavior of changing jobs is reinforced positively (66 mentions in total of favorable consequences, 17 of negative consequences). On the other hand, the unfavorable consequences of separating from the previous job (22 mentions) outnumbered the positive rewards; e.g., feeling of relief, escape from dead-end job (7 mentions). Nevertheless, in aggregate job change is perceived to have resulted in more benefits (66 + 7) than drawbacks (22 + 17). Of course, this finding may be a result of some dissonance reduction processes on the part of the respondents; that is, the extent to which an individual will emphasize positive aspects rather than negative aspects of his decisions, since these are strictly perceptions of those interviewed.

Factors Leading to Contemplation of Job Change but not to Actual Change, and Consequences of the Decision to Stay at the Present Job

Table 6 contains the data on the antecedents and consequences of a job change which was contemplated but not made. The data lent themselves to a categorization which was quite similar to that of Table 5. The antecedents themselves consisted of the same themes. However, in this instance, the experienced goal satisfaction and frustration are mentioned in connection with the *present* job and the expected goal satisfactions and frustrations were mentioned in connection with the *contemplated* job. The interesting comparison is of course to determine what leads to an actual job change as opposed to one that is contemplated but does not take place. In the latter case, as the data of Table 6 indicate, the antecedents involved are the same. However, unlike the critical mobility incident, the amount of goal frustration in the present job (124 mentions) although it exceeds goal satisfaction (122 mentions), does not exceed it as much as in the actual job change. A similar situation exists with respect to the anticipated amount of goal satisfactions (31 mentions) and frustrations (28 mentions) in the contemplated job. This finding contrasts markedly with the wide disparity between the satisfactions (49 mentions) and frustrations (11 mentions) expected in a job which was actually taken by the respondent after he left his previous job, as shown in Table 5.

In brief, these data suggest that when a job change is contemplated but not undertaken, the present situation is *slightly* more frustrating than satisfying, or perhaps neutral (zero net satisfaction), and the expected job is *slightly* more satisfying than frustrating, or perhaps neutral (zero net satisfaction). When a job change is actually made, the previous job was perceived as quite frustrating, and the expectations about the new job greatly emphasized the satisfying aspect.

On this basis, it seems that a continuum of "propensity to change jobs" may be formulated (cf. Lefkowitz, 1970). At the low end of this continuum is a situation in which the individual does not even consider another job at all. At the high end is a situation in which the individual actually changes jobs. In between are states of mind that may range from "Well, a job change does cross my mind once in a while," to "I think about a change quite often," to "I'm almost certain to leave; I am looking for a new position now." Our interview has captured at least two points along this continuum.

The data of Table 6 concerned with goal satisfaction and goal frustration may be used in another way as well: to assess the job satisfaction of this sample of Respondents. These individuals, to judge from the figures at hand, tend to be if anything neutral or slightly dissatisfied with their jobs (especially in the area of work content). This has occurred even though most had either left a previous job for this one or had rejected an alternative job.

It may be, therefore, that SWRS agencies as work settings in general, are not structured in such a way that they yield net satisfaction of the personal and professional goals of direct service and supervisory personnel. If this is indeed the

Table 6

Forces Leading to Contemplated Mobility and Consequences (by frequency of endorsement)

	Goal satisfactions and frustrations experienced in present job		*Goal satisfactions and frustrations expected in contemplated job*	
	Satisfactions	*Frustrations*	*Satisfactions*	*Frustrations*
Professional goals:				
Client-related	21	12	1	6
Supervision	12	10	2	1
Work content	18	39	9	3
Agency practices, goals and missions	28	27	4	10
	79	88	16	20
"Selfish" goals:				
Salary and benefits	5	7	6	2
Promotion or opportunity for promotion	1	3	2	1
Personal convenience	10	5	2	0
Personal needs	12	7	1	2
Goal of change per se	0	0	2	0
	28	22	13	5
Group relations	11	5	2	0
Miscellaneous	4	9	0	3
	15	14	2	3
Total	122	124	31	28

Consequences of remaining at present job

Favorable		*Unfavorable*	
Enjoy good job and growth	5	Felt "trapped" or otherwise disturbed	3
Fulfilled responsibility	1		
Have gained seniority	1		
	7		3

case, then most individuals in SWRS could rarely be placed at the low end of the "propensity to change" continuum; for at least one component, net satisfaction in the present job, is constantly impelling at least a consideration of job change. Of course, it may be that this statement describes the situation in some agencies but not in others. Those in certain agencies may be disproportionately likely to mention frustrations and not satisfactions, whereas those in others may exhibit the opposite tendency.

Turning now to the consequences of not changing jobs, we note that the consequences of remaining in the same job are more positive (professional growth, seniority, carrying out responsibilities) than negative (felt trapped or disturbed in some other way). Again, dissonance reduction processes might be invoked to account for this finding.

Reasons for Initial Entry into the SWRS Field

Several factors, summarized in Table 7, were mentioned as antecedents of initial entry. The more frequently cited were, in order of frequency: wanted to work with and/or help people; field offered opportunity for someone with my personal attributes; influenced by others; satisfaction of personal needs. The antecedents referred to are, of course, very similar to those suggested by past research on initial entry. (See Chapter 3.) That is, initial entry is a function of personal goals including personal interests and other needs (achievement, challenge), the extent to which personal attributes match those required by the field, and (less importantly in this sample) the availability of jobs as perceived by the respondent.

The "miscellaneous" category in Table 7 included such responses as: always planned to enter social service; job was second choice; thought job could help me handle my own problems.

Table 7

Antecedents of Entry into the Field (by frequency of endorsement)*

Wanted to work with and/or help other people	21
Field offered opportunities for someone with my personal qualities (special interests, skills, education, experience, demography and/or disabilities)	15
Influenced by others	13
Satisfaction of personal needs (material, extra job pursuits, prestige, achievement, etc.)	11
Interesting, challenging, worthwhile jobs	6
Prior experience either in volunteer or other short-term programs or through delivery of services to self or relative	6
Ease of entry (low educational requirements)	5
Jobs were available	5
Miscellaneous	8

*A few responses told of reasons against entry. These included type of clients, predominance of females, low salaries.

Positive and Negative Evaluations of the Field

Table 8 summarizes the responses to the question "What do you think of the field now?" This question is concerned with the respondent's view of the field after entry and after some years of experience with the field and various jobs in it. One could conceive of this as the consequences of entry into the field.

One of the most interesting aspects of these data is the finding that the respondents have more negative things ("Brickbats" – 75 mentions) than positive things ("Bouquets" – 43 mentions) to say about the field in general. This finding becomes even more salient because it is counter to what one would expect on the

Table 8

Evaluation of the Field after Experience (by frequency of endorsement)

Brickbats (Negative Evaluations)		
Negative initial socialization experiences:		
Poor training	2	
Lack of freedom	2	
Poor or inadequate delivery of services	5	
Boring, difficult or impossible job	4	
Low pay	1	
Miscellaneous	4	
Subtotal		18
Lack of accomplishment by field	17	
Lack of ability or motivation of workers to deal with problems	4	
Immutability or faulty value system of clients	5	
Agency service delivery problems	11	
Lack of satisfaction of workers' needs and expectations (material well-being, recognition, etc.)	10	
Impossible problems facing the field	2	
Miscellaneous	8	
Subtotal		57
Total		75
Bouquets (Positive Evaluations)		
Solving societal problems		10
Helping those in distress		5
Capable and dedicated workers		3
Satisfies workers' needs or expectations (material well-being, recognition, etc.)		17
Diversity of jobs, growth of field		4
Miscellaneous		4
Total		43

basis of dissonance theory. These individuals have chosen an SWRS career and have stayed in the field. Dissonance theory would predict that they would say more positive than negative things about the field to support their decision. This is not the case here. This result, taken in conjunction with the neutral or slightly negative net satisfaction of these workers with their present job, which was discussed above, offers further evidence that SWRS work settings are not structured to satisfy rather than frustrate individual goals. Again, this renders all workers, in term of the "propensity to change jobs" continuum, more prone to leave specific work settings in search of a more satisfying job.

On the other hand at least two factors may qualify the hypothesis about the net satisfaction offered by SWRS settings. First, individuals in this sample (or perhaps all those who choose an SWRS career) might be "chronic gripers" because they desire to help clients to a much greater extent than is possible in a real-world situation. Second, there may be a norm of dissatisfaction among workers in the field. In both cases it may be personally and socially desirable to complain about the field and the workplace.

On the basis of such additional indicators as high turnover rates which have pervaded much of the field and the negative evaluations by the press and other observers about the extent to which the field is accomplishing its goals and missions, the authors are inclined at this juncture to discount this alternative and to support the tentative view which has emerged from the data; i.e., that SWRS settings overall are somewhat more frustrating than satisfying.

Among the negative factors mentioned, the largest single category was "negative initial socialization experiences" followed closely by "lack of accomplishment by the field". "Agency service delivery problems" and "lack of satisfaction of worker's needs and expectations" were also relatively frequently mentioned. It seems noteworthy that the question of lack of accomplishment by the field is not given much attention in the literature.

On the positive side, some workers disagreed with the attitudes of the dissatisfied. They felt that the field satisfies their needs and expectations and contributes to the solution of societal problems.

Miscellaneous comments under negative initial socialization experiences in Table 8 included: feared the neighborhood; did not like my image as a public servant. Miscellaneous comments under Bouquets and Brickbats in Table 8 included: way to avoid draft; makes no difference to an agency when workers leave; nothing good to say about the field.

Characteristics of an Ideal Job in the SWRS Field

Table 9 contains the responses concerned with the Respondents' opinions of what constitutes an ideal job. Two findings are worthy of note. First "professional job content" was the category which received most consideration. The respondents' ideal consists, therefore, of more professional than self-serving

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components; this contradicts the notion that what best motivates SWRS workers and supervisors is salary and benefits (part of "personal needs" in this table). Secondly, a few were not able even to conceive of an ideal job in this field, which is yet another indication of dissatisfaction.

("Miscellaneous" comments in Table 9 included: a job where you can feel adequate in what you do; a job where you can see the effects of your efforts.)

Table 9

Characteristics of the Ideal Job
(by frequency of endorsement)

Positive Aspects	
Close client contact	6
Professional job content	21
Work with a particular client or co-worker group	5
Work with the community	3
Work in own agency or private practice	2
Personal needs	6
Miscellaneous	4
Negative Aspects	
No such job available in the field	3

CHAPTER 7

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

SUMMARY

This chapter presents recommendations for action drawn from the literature and the limited field investigation.

The suggestions offered must be regarded as tentative until such time as field tests and demonstration projects evaluate their feasibility in particular situations.

1. *Recommendations regarding* **initial entry** *are concerned with:*

   - *Recruitment to attract suitable workers in sufficient numbers (e.g., through provision of career-testing opportunities);*

   - *Restructuring jobs in the SWRS field to create new career opportunities for segments of the population which heretofore have lacked qualifications for jobs as traditionally defined (e.g., through allocation of certain functions to paraprofessionals);*

   - *Increasing the productivity of training institutions in the SWRS field (e.g., through year-round educational programs); and*

   - *A systematic review and definition of the purposes, strategies, and tasks of the SWRS field and its workers.*

2. *As for* **turnover,** *recommendations are offered primarily for dealing with* **excessive voluntary turnover**, *since that form of turnover seems of prime*

importance based on the literature review and the limited field investigation. These recommendations fall into two major categories:

- *Those concerned with reducing voluntary turnover through provision of greater opportunity for goal attainment, including:*

  . . . Increasing the professional content of jobs; e.g., through a reduction in the amount of paperwork.

  . . . Increasing opportunities for professional growth as well as for advancement into higher-level jobs. (This recommendation is discussed in greater detail under "Recommendations regarding Internal Mobility" below.)

- *Those concerned with prior clarification of job realities and improved personnel selection. In the former case, one recommendation offered is that training programs should directly reflect the realities of jobs in the field. In the latter case, it is suggested that suitably weighted biographical information blanks are most likely to give the quickest payoff in screening out those recruits who are turnover-prone.*

3. *Recommendations regarding* **internal mobility** *are concerned with:*

   - *Facilitating professional growth and development; e.g., through provision of opportunities for obtaining advanced training and/or systematic programs of lateral mobility (job rotation).*

   - *Facilitating advancement into supervisory and administrative jobs; e.g., through the establishment of training programs which emphasize the development of managerial skills.*

* * * * *

A number of suggestions for channeling job mobility in desirable ways were made in the literature and by interviewees. Additional suggestions are derivable from our conceptual framework. In this chapter, these several sources will be used to list a number of recommendations for practice. It should be understood that most of these recommendations have not been rigorously tested for their effectiveness, so that they may best be regarded as hypotheses for consideration and possible experimental adoption by policy-makers and administrators in the SWRS field.

The recommendations are discussed below in sections corresponding to the various types of job mobility, as categorized in preceding chapters of this report.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING INITIAL ENTRY

The problem here is twofold: attracting workers into the SWRS field (and its subdivisions) in sufficient number to fill the positions vacated by attrition and expansion; and assuring that the workers who are attracted will be capable of fulfilling the work demands and will be motivated both to be productive and to remain in the SWRS system for a reasonable period of time. In short, the problem has aspects both of quantity and quality of personnel. The following recommendations may be useful in coping with these needs.

1. Systematic programs of recruitment should be fostered, since there is reason to believe that they increase the numbers of workers who enter the SWRS field. Some of the features of such programs which would seem useful in attracting sufficient numbers include the following:

a. SWRS workers themselves should be encouraged to help recruit new people into the field.

b. More recruitment efforts should be aimed at high school students, since this is the point at which many young people begin to form their career plans. Such efforts should include dissemination of occupational information to students, teachers, and guidance counselors, since there is evidence of insufficient knowledge of the SWRS field in these quarters. Use of high school seniors as part-time or summer aides should also be considered.

c. At the college level, in addition to occupational information, programs should be provided which furnish career-testing opportunities through (for example) summer employment, cooperative work-study, and internship programs.

d. Special recruitment efforts might also be directed to segments of the public who heretofore have not entered the field in sufficient numbers, such as members of disadvantaged minority groups, residents of small towns and rural regions, males, and mature women whose children have grown.

2. Recruitment programs must be designed not only to affect the numbers of workers but also to help guarantee the suitability of workers. Some features of recruitment programs pertinent to this aim would include the following:

a. Information disseminated about the field should generate realistic and accurate career expectations, if new entrants are not to be "turned off" by their job experience.

b. Early career exposure, such as internship and work-study programs, is also especially helpful in this regard, since it can help screen out those whose motivation and competence are inappropriate.

c. Assessment procedures need to be developed which can help match personal characteristics of potential workers with job requirements; such procedures can be useful both to counselors offering career guidance and to employers who have to make selection decisions. But as yet relatively little research has been done on this problem of assessing job suitability of prospective entrants.

3. The structure of jobs and qualifications in the SWRS field may be altered in order to create new career opportunities for segments of the population which heretofore have lacked qualifications for jobs as traditionally defined.

a. The allocation of certain functions to paraprofessional positions has already been initiated. Such procedures require further evaluation. If found useful, their utilization should be expanded.

b. New entry-level jobs may be created which do not entail as much prior professional training as the MSW but can be performed by college graduates in cognate fields who are given on-the-job training.

c. A related strategy would be the redefinition of certain jobs in ways that make them suitable, with supplementary training, to high-quality personnel in fields which are experiencing an oversupply. For example, SWRS research positions might be filled by natural scientists, or engineers could be used to fill positions in SWRS management and in income maintenance operations.

d. More attention could be given to creating part-time positions which could be filled by trained women who have had to drop out of regular SWRS employment because of family responsibilities. A possible variant of this suggestion is the employment of teams of two or three such women to fill the equivalent of one full-time position.

4. Increasing the productivity of the training institutions in the SWRS field represents an additional strategy which has been recommended to help increase the quality of qualified SWRS workers. Some of the specific possibilities along these lines are the following:

a. More cooperative programs may be developed between agencies and educational institutions, whereby SWRS workers improve their professional

competencies by attending school while employed. This feature, as noted above, could also help attract workers to the field.

b. Year-round and/or accelerated educational programs are ways of producing trained workers more rapidly.

c. State legislatures should be urged to expand the facilities of their SWRS graduate schools in order to increase the numbers of graduates. (See, for example, State Communities Aid Association, 1967.)

d. Schools should also be urged to establish more programs for special segments of the potential SWRS work force, such as programs for paraprofessionals and refresher courses for women who have to discontinue their professional employment while raising a family.

e. To help ensure that qualified applicants to schools in the field are not excluded because of local over-supply of candidates, the schools should establish a central collaborative admissions office.

5. Some believe that the SWRS field suffers from lack of clarity of its mission, ambiguity regarding the programs and skills relevant to accomplishing its mission, and a reputation of failure to accomplish real change. Such problems may adversely affect entry of qualified workers; many may decide against it because of their uncertainty about career contexts and directions. Others may decide against entry insofar as the prestige of the field is thereby tarnished. The effects of this situation on manpower planning may result in insufficient or misdirected recruitment and/or training efforts. While we have no specific remedies to suggest, we would add our voice to those who are calling for a systematic review and definition of the purposes, strategies, and tasks of the SWRS field and its workers.

6. Finally, it seems reasonable to believe that the SWRS field would be more attractive to prospective workers if it would rectify some of the deficiencies which lead workers already in it to leave their jobs. Such recommendations will be made in the following section on turnover, which thus becomes doubly significant.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING TURNOVER

The basic strategy to be followed in order to reduce excessive voluntary turnover, which the literature survey and the limited field investigation have shown to be of prime importance, is to increase the attractiveness of employment in the SWRS field and in individual agencies. In essence, this means increasing the perceived likelihood of attaining SWRS workers' goals through such employment and reducing the perceived likelihood of experiencing aversions.

The most direct and effective method for influencing these expectations is through changes in the realities underlying them, for there is little evidence that they are largely delusory in origin. The recommendations discussed immediately

below represent ways of implementing the foregoing strategy. They are presented in relation to the goals and values of SWRS workers to which they correspond. Later on, attention will be given to two additional strategies: prior clarification of job realities; and improved personnel selection.

RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNED WITH THE GOALS OF SWRS PERSONNEL

1. SWRS workers widely express the need to serve people through the performance of professional services entailing special skills. Militating against satisfaction of this need are the aforementioned lack of clarity of the missions of the SWRS system, uncertainty about the activities and skills relevant to the accomplishment of the missions, and frustration by the absence of evidence of mission accomplishment. While we are not in a position to specify remedies for this fundamental general problem, which must be addressed by policy-makers and the profession itself, we can note that the jobs filled by SWRS workers seem frequently to fail to utilize fully the professional knowledge, skills, and attitudes of their incumbents (Bell and O'Reilly, 1969). Much turnover is therefore attributable to efforts (often fruitless) to locate a professionally more challenging and rewarding position. To help cope with this problem, several related measures are possible.

a. Unprofessional duties (e.g., routine paperwork and administrative detail) should be removed from professional jobs and allocated to jobs and offices entailing lower (or different) levels of personnel preparation. The separation of income maintenance from casework functions represents one possible approach.

b. Professional workers should be given a strong voice in shaping the service policies and practices of agencies.

c. Work-loads should be consistent with the time and effort required to provide services at the level of thoroughness needed to meet reasonable professional standards of adequacy.

d. The field should intensify its efforts to define criteria of professional contribution, so that SWRS workers can assess their own professional performance and receive feedback from others. Such criteria also serve to operationalize professional goals and missions.

e. The professional identity of workers in the field may be enhanced by such measures as:

Provision of needed time and money for professional SWRS workers to participate in activities of professional associations;

Campaigns of public information concerning the work and mission of SWRS professionals;

Legal definition and regulation of SWRS professionals, which also brings to the field recognized professional standards and qualifications, and clearer delineation of attendant privileges and responsibilities (Torgerson, 1968).

Although the foregoing measures regarding professional identity are likely to sharpen distinctions among professional, paraprofessional, and non-professional workers manning the service delivery system, they appear to be important if frustration and withdrawal of professionals are to be minimized.

2. Related to the goal of professional service is the goal of professional growth. SWRS workers seek not only to furnish professional service in their entry jobs but to take on more difficult challenges as their expertise increases over time. Methods for facilitating attainment of this goal are discussed in the later section on recommendations regarding internal mobility.

3. Advancement into administrative positions is a goal which is frequently expressed by SWRS workers. This is really a complex phenomenon involving more specific goals, notably intrinsic satisfaction with the content of administrative jobs, higher pay, greater prestige, and more power. It may also serve as an escape from the aversions which may be encountered in direct service jobs, such as heavy caseloads or unpleasant clients. Measures which can be adopted to satisfy this goal are discussed in the later section on recommendations regarding internal mobility.

RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNED WITH CLOSING THE GAP BETWEEN WORKER EXPECTATIONS AND JOB REALITIES PRIOR TO EMPLOYMENT

We have pointed out that voluntary turnover is due essentially to the worker's expectation that his present job will not meet his goals to the degree that some alternative will. Above we have suggested ways in which jobs may be made more suitable to the goals of most SWRS workers, thereby increasing their expectations of satisfaction in their present jobs and decreasing the likelihood that they will decide to leave in order to attain satisfaction elsewhere. There exist two further strategies for closing the gap between worker goals and job realities. Both of these strategies operate *prior* to the entry of the worker into the job rather than afterward; i.e., they help ensure that workers will not enter jobs that are inappropriate to their goals and expectations. One of these methods consists of prior clarification of job realities, and the other involves recruiting and selecting workers whose goals are likely to be met on the job.

1. Research has shown that workers are likely to quit if the expectations of rewards and aversions they had before taking a job turn out to have been unrealistic. The following suggestions may help mitigate this source of turnover:

a. The occupational information disseminated in conjunction with recruiting workers into the SWRS field should neither exaggerate its positive features nor downplay its negative ones. The same should be true of information about the job and agency that is provided to applicants for jobs in specific

agencies. It has been shown, for example, that providing realistic job information to prospective insurance agents can significantly reduce the amount of subsequent turnover (Weitz, 1956; Youngberg, 1963).

b. Programs of education and training for SWRS workers should be relevant to the responsibilities and duties of such workers and should avoid leading to role definitions and expectations that are too far beyond the foreseeable realities of their jobs and the system.

c. More opportunities should be created for prospective SWRS workers to obtain orientation to the realities of work in this field such as through summer employment of high school and college students, cooperative work-study programs, internships, and apprenticeships. These suggestions have already been made in conjunction with recruitment for initial entry, but measures which will attract and hold recruits are likely also to reduce turnover of more experienced personnel.

d. Orientation training programs for new workers have been found helpful in industry in reducing turnover; similar programs which are tested for appropriateness may prove useful in SWRS agencies that lack them.

2. Not all people have goals and needs that can readily be met by jobs in the SWRS field. Hence, part of the war on excessive turnover should consist of recruiting and selecting those people whose personal characteristics are appropriate to the imminent realities of the jobs in question. Numerous studies outside the SWRS field have demonstrated the feasibility of identifying turnover-prone workers on the basis of biographical and psychometric data. There are scattered through the literature reviewed earlier indications that SWRS workers who quit are different in some personal respects from those who stay. However, research and development work is needed to forge such findings into a useful SWRS management tool. Some fieldwide work would be needed to develop predictors of turnover-proneness in the several major subdivisions of SWRS personnel. Further refinements could be made to adjust these procedures in order to take account of special local conditions. The type of instrument that is most likely to give the quickest pay-off for this purpose is a biographical information blank which has items that have been selected and weighted on the basis of their correlations with turnover.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING INTERNAL MOBILITY

In the preceding section it was pointed out that workers' goals for professional growth and for administrative jobs could be met by appropriate policies and procedures concerning internal job mobility. Methods for accomplishing this will be discussed below. But before turning to them, it should be

noted that their adoption could not only help curtail turnover but could also improve agency operations and benefit workers and clients.

1. The following methods are recommended for facilitating professional growth and development.

a. Career ladders should be developed which provide recognizable steps for growth, including not only the conventional advancement through administrative channels but also a hierarchy of steps entailing higher levels of professional competence and attainment, analogous to the various professorial ranks at academic institutions or levels of medical personnel affiliated with hospitals.

b. Opportunities for obtaining advanced training should be available, such as in-service programs, part-time attendance at schools or workshops, and/or leaves of absence for full-time advanced education.

c. Supervisors should be expected to have the interest, competence, and time to furnish on-the-job instruction and coaching of workers. This means that supervisors should be selected, trained, and rewarded in ways that make such functions more likely to be done well. They should also be of the calibre to serve as role models for their subordinates.

d. Systematic lateral mobility, sometimes called job rotation, may be useful in extending the range of a worker's experience and knowledge, and may help to provide him with more professional challenge and interest. Extending the range of a worker's responsibilities within his present job, sometimes called job enlargement, can serve the same purposes.

2. The following methods are recommended for assisting advancement into supervisory and administrative jobs.

a. More advancement opportunities would be afforded by creation of a taller organization structure in SWRS agencies; i.e., providing a larger number of administrators in relation to the number of direct service workers. However, this step is to be avoided if organizational analysis suggests that the dysfunctional consequences will outweigh the advantages. For example, procedures may tend to become overly bureaucratized, supervision of subordinates may become too close, and costs may rise excessively. Under the latter circumstances, it would be preferable to develop career ladders of the professional type mentioned above, since many of the reasons for seeking administrative advancement can be satisfied by professional advancement.

b. An agency policy of promotion from within would help retain those workers, apparently numerous, who feel that the best way to advance hierarchically is to seek a higher-level job elsewhere.

c. A promotion-from-within policy will fail to hold the better workers if they see promotions being based mainly on considerations other than merit. Hence, the policy should embrace this feature as well, but it needs to be coupled

with the development of sound merit-appraisal procedures, including feeding back to workers the results of such appraisals in relation to implications for advancement. In this connection, regulations and policies stating formal qualifications for advancement, such as education or service, need to be examined to see whether they are really related to meritorious job performance.

d. The eligibility of workers for administrative positions would be increased if more programs of in-service training and graduate education would cover managerial knowledge and skills. Such training would not only improve eligibility for appointment but would also assist the worker in doing a better job as a supervisor or administrator. The agency and clients would also benefit if incumbent administrators and supervisors could be better trained for these roles.

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Note:—The citations contained herein include not only those references footnoted in the text, but also additional sources which might prove useful to other investigators of worker job mobility, especially, but by no means exclusively, in the SWRS field.

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APPENDIX A

New York University
Department of Psychology
Job Mobility Study

INTERVIEW GUIDE: EXPERT INFORMANTS

I. OBJECTIVES (for orientation of interviewer)

A. To obtain information about the causes, forms, and consequences of job mobility in the SWRS occupational field as a basis for further refinements or explications of our conceptual paradigm.

B. To obtain suggested measures of the relevant variables.

C. To ascertain the practical problems involved in obtaining such data.

D. To obtain suggested courses of action for ameliorating the system-problems related to job mobility.

II. SETTING THE STAGE WITH INTERVIEWEE

A. Briefly review the general scope of the HEW-SRS manpower research program and of the job mobility study.

B. Briefly explain the place of this interview within the context of the study.

C. Definition of the SWRS occupational field: "We realize that there is no universally accepted definition of the kinds of workers who make up the Social Welfare and Rehabilitation Services field. However, for our information, and to provide a context in which we can better understand your later comments, it would be helpful if you would give us your general definition of that field."

III. FOCUS OF THE INTERVIEW: WORKER JOB MOBILITY

A. "We are defining job mobility in the broad sense of any change in a worker's job status, that is, modification of the nature or level of his duties and responsibilities to such an extent that he occupies a qualitatively different job—either with respect to job title or employing agency. Within this definition, we have tentatively identified the following different types or forms of job mobility:" (Show card listing forms of job mobility.)*

B. "Does this list seem adequate to you?"

1. If answer is negative, ascertain in what respects the list is inadequate.

*Card is shown at end of appendix.

C. "How could we find out how prevalent or frequent each of these types of job mobility is among SWRS workers?"

1. Probe for different kinds of data, such as questionnaires, agency records, etc.

D. "How practical or feasible would it be to obtain each of those kinds of information?"

1. "What special problems or errors might be encountered?"

2. Be sure to cover D for each type of mobility, as determined in B above.

E. "Which of these forms of mobility, in your judgment, pose the more serious problems to the SWRS field?"

1. If necessary, probe for reasons why.

F. "Are there any of them which are not particularly serious?"

1. If necessary, probe for reasons why.

G. Selecting one of the more serious types of mobility cited in E, probe systematically for the consequences. For example:

1. "You have mentioned the effects that (blank) type of mobility has on (blank and blank). May it also have any effects on (blank or blank)?" (Bear in mind the set of consequences envisaged in our paradigm.)

2. "Are there sometimes any *desirable* consequences of this type of mobility?"

H. 'What kinds of information could be obtained about each of the consequences which we have been discussing? For example, how could we determine the effects of this type of mobility on (blank)?"

1. "How practical or feasible would it be to obtain this information? What problems or errors might be encountered?"

I. "What, in your judgment, causes this kind of mobility among SWRS personnel?"

1. Probe for additional types of causes, e.g., if organizational factors were not volunteered, ask: "Are there any characteristics of the agency structure or climate which may affect this type of mobility?"

J. "Still considering this form of mobility, are there any characteristics of the worker, the work setting, or the general environment that may reduce or prevent it?"

K. In view of the several types of causal factors or influences that we have been discussing, what practical steps do you think could be taken to reduce or minimize this type of mobility?" (If high incidence of this type of mobility was viewed as desirable, the foregoing question should be phrased in terms of increasing or facilitating, rather than reducing it.)

L. "We have been discussing X, Y, Z as factors causing or influencing this type of job mobility. How do you think each of these could be measured or assessed in the real-life situation? For example, how could one measure or observe X?"

1. "How practicable would it be to get this kind of information? What kinds of problems or errors might be encountered in trying to get it?"

2. Repeat L and L-1 for each major type of antecedent variable mentioned by the informant.

M. "Are there any peculiarities or special features about different types of social work, or agencies, or geographical regions that might create exceptions to the job mobility picture that we have been discussing?" (This question should be asked only if the respondent has not already alluded to such moderator effects.)

N. If time permits, repeat sections G through M with additional types of mobility determined in B.

IV. CLOSING

A. (To be asked only if informant is the director or a senior staff member of an agency.) "In this preliminary phase, we are undertaking to interview not only experienced persons like yourself, who have an overview of the field, but also a number of rank-and-file SWRS workers. Of course, in their case, the nature of the interview would be quite different from the one which we have just been having. It will be much briefer, and will essentially focus on two recent critical incidents: one entailing their most recent job change, and another a recent instance where they were considering a job change but decided against it. Do you think it would be possible to arrange for such interviews with four or five of the people working in your agency?"

B. Obtain recommendations of other key individuals or agencies to be contacted.

C. Obtain suggestions regarding significant bibliographical sources.

D. Be sure to furnish an appreciative and cordial close to the interview.

E. If you have not already done so, be sure to obtain the respondent's full name and institutional identification, writing down also the date of the interview and the name of the interviewer.

WORKER JOB MOBILITY

1. *Within agency*
   a. initial entry
   b. lateral
   c. upward
   (d. downward)

2. *Between agencies*
   a. lateral
   b. upward
   (c. downward)

3. *Out of field*

In connection with any of the above

   a. voluntary or involuntary
   b. new status of worker

APPENDIX B

CRITICAL INCIDENT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(To be filled in on interview record by the interviewer)

Name of Agency_____ Interviewed by _____
Type of Agency_____ Date _____
Public _____ Private _____ Time _____
Religious _____ Non-Sectarian____

Introduction
Introduce self and explain NYU affiliation.
We are engaged in a study of career patterns in the SWRS field. Our interview today is designed to assist us in the development of a picture of these patterns. During the course of the interview, we will be asking you questions concerning past job changes and the reasons for your initial entry into the field. We would like to assure you that all information you give us will be kept completely confidential and will only be utilized for research purposes by the members of the New York University research staff.

I. *Present Job* First, it would be helpful if you'd tell me about your present job.

A. What is your job title?

B. Now, would you briefly describe the nature of your duties and responsibilities?

1. Which of these duties consumes most of your time?

2. Which of them do you regard as most important?

II. *Mobility Incident*

A. Now, please think back to the last time that you changed jobs. When did it occur? What was the nature of the change?

B. What were the causes of this change?

1. Be sure that you are satisfied with and understand the explanation. *E.g.*, if salary is given, probe as to whether the important factor is absolute amount or amount relative to other salaries paid.

2. If explanation is brief and incomplete (seems to account for little of the move), probe for other antecedents from our paradigm until satisfied.

3. Which of these factors would you say were most important?

C. What were the outcomes of the change?
Probe, if necessary, into client, personal, or agency outcomes.

D. Would you give us some characteristics of your previous position?

1. Kind of agency (use our designations, public vs. private, child vs. adult, large vs. small, etc.)

2. Job title

3. Nature of duties (parallel present job)

III. *Critical Incident of Non-Mobility*

A. From the time you entered the SWRS field to the present, did you ever consider changing jobs but not do so?

B. (If yes) Now think back to the most recent time this occurred, even if it was yesterday or last week. When did this take place?

C. Why did you think about making the change?

D. Whn didn't you make it?
Probe as under II for reasons if not fully explained.

E. Looking back on it, what were the outcomes of the decision?
Probe as necessary for individual, agency and client outcomes.

F. If circumstances were the same today, would you now change jobs? Probe for why if the answer is yes.

IV. *Initial Entry*

A. When did you decide to enter social work (substitute rehabilitation where appropriate) as a profession?

B. Why did you decide to enter this field?

C. If a particular person influenced your decision, what was your relationship to this person?

D. What do you think of the field now?

E. As you see it, what would be an ideal job in this field?
Probe as to kind of agency and kind of work.

V. *Another Factor to be Considered*

If clientele was not mentioned as a reason above: I wonder whether one cause of mobility among some SWRS professionals is the type of clientele served. Do you feel this is a significant factor? (Probe for clarity and completeness of response.)

VI. In addition to what we have been discussing, is there anything else that you feel has been an important consideration in your career changes? (Mention some antecedents not discussed, such as supervision, or agency structure.)

VII. *Background Factors*

Marital status _____ Number of Dependents _____
Highest education completed _____
Age _____
Sex _____
Race _____

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APPENDIX C

THE NATIONAL STUDY OF SOCIAL WELFARE AND REHABILITATION WORKERS, WORK, AND ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXTS

A SUMMARY

Jean Szaloczi Fine*

The Social and Rehabilitation Service (SRS) has undertaken a program of research to develop much-needed new knowledge about social welfare and rehabilitation workers, the work they do, and the organizational contexts in which that work is performed. The present publication is one of a series resulting from the program of research. This introduction is intended to give the reader a brief orientation to the program plan, why the research was undertaken, what is being attempted, and what kinds of publications and other outputs are expected to result.

This program of research—the National Study of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation Workers, Work, and Organizational Contexts—is a set of projects, studies, and other research activities performed in part by SRS staff and in part by social scientists of various disciplines in universities, research institutes, and other nonfederal settings, with SRS direction and funding. It differs from previous research in that (1) it approaches the field as an "industry" and as a "national" service system, (2) it is an attempt to look for important interrelationships among a large variety of critical attributes of workers, work, and work settings, and (3) it combines a sample survey methodology with intensive investigations so that a depth of understanding can be combined with national estimates.

In a very real sense the research program may be said to have "begun" with the work of the task force on manpower whose report was published in 1965 by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare under the title *Closing the Gap in Social Work Manpower.* Certainly much study, analysis, and planning had preceded the letting of the first contract in this program in 1968. The program is expected to continue through 1973, but some analysis and many research utilization activities should continue beyond that time.**

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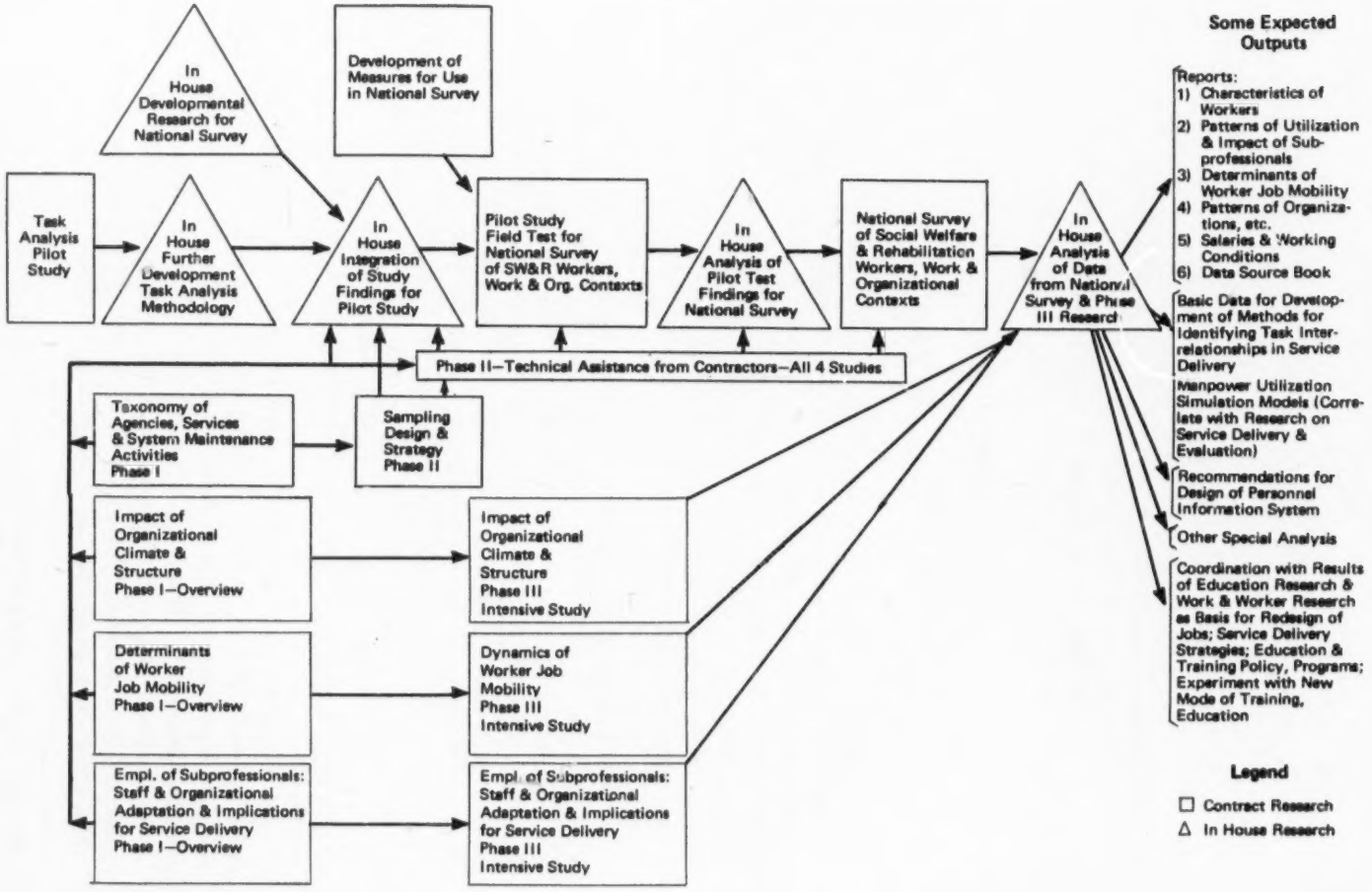
*Mrs. Fine is Chief, Manpower Research Branch, Office of Research and Demonstrations, Social and Rehabilitation Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. She designed and is directing the National Study.

**The general outlines of the program and the interrelation of studies are indicated in the diagram.

NATIONAL STUDY OF SOCIAL WELFARE & REHABILITATION WORKERS, WORK, & ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXTS


In House Developmental Research for National Survey
Development of Measures for Use in National Survey
Task Analysis Pilot Study
In House Further Development Task Analysis Methodology
In House Integration of Study Findings for Pilot Study
Pilot Study Field Test for National Survey of SW&R Workers, Work & Org. Contexts
In House Analysis of Pilot Test Findings for National Survey
National Survey of Social Welfare & Rehabilitation Workers, Work & Organizational Contexts
In House Analysis of Data from National Survey & Phase III Research
Phase II—Technical Assistance from Contractors—All 4 Studies
Taxonomy of Agencies, Services & System Maintenance Activities Phase I
Sampling Design & Strategy Phase II
Impact of Organizational Climate & Structure Phase I—Overview
Impact of Organizational Climate & Structure Phase III Intensive Study
Determinants of Worker Job Mobility Phase I—Overview
Dynamics of Worker Job Mobility Phase III Intensive Study
Empl. of Subprofessionals: Staff & Organizational Adaptation & Implications for Service Delivery Phase I—Overview
Empl. of Subprofessionals: Staff & Organizational Adaptation & Implications for Service Delivery Phase III Intensive Study
Some Expected Outputs
Reports:
1) Characteristics of Workers
2) Patterns of Utilization & Impact of Sub-professionals
3) Determinants of Worker Job Mobility
4) Patterns of Organizations, etc.
5) Salaries & Working Conditions
6) Data Source Book
Basic Data for Development of Methods for Identifying Task Interrelationships in Service Delivery
Manpower Utilization Simulation Models (Correlate with Research on Service Delivery & Evaluation)
Recommendations for Design of Personnel Information System
Other Special Analysis
Coordination with Results of Education Research & Work & Worker Research as Basis for Redesign of Jobs; Service Delivery Strategies; Education & Training Policy, Programs; Experiment with New Mode of Training, Education
Legend
Contract Research
In House Research

THIS IS APPLIED RESEARCH

The National Study of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation Workers, Work, and Organizational Contexts is a program of applied research intended for use by agency managers and workers as well as teachers and students. Central to the research strategy and publication plans is the overriding image of useful applied research as "pushing the state-of-the-art" in social science theory and research methodology to obtain dependable new knowledge for practical, viable, and effective solutions to day-by-day problems in practice, management, and policy making. That is, the skill of the social scientist is challenged to provide new knowledge that the manager, the worker, or the student can use to understand better the phenomena he observes in everyday life. The ultimate test of the effectiveness of applied research is the degree to which it enables the manager or worker to recognize correlates in his own experiences and to use information and knowledge from the research to better manage his own work in order to fulfill more of its purposes. The "usefulness" criterion has dominated research planning at all stages. Needless to say, no research is useful unless results are communicated and, furthermore, communicated in a form that is understandable to different potential users with different needs, who bring different experiences and understanding to the interchange with the researcher. Therefore, a decision was made to publish a series of publications focusing on different aspects of the research and performing different communication tasks in an effort to build a bridge between the research and use of it by managers, workers, scholars, and students in a variety of settings.*

It is reasonable and proper for the SRS to be concerned about the state of knowledge about social welfare and rehabilitation workers because workers are the means—the vehicles—for the delivery of services. That is, workers embody the total technology of the field; they are both concepts in operation and instruments of action. This is in contrast, for example, to goods-producing industries in which the workers design, fabricate, and operate the machines or other instruments which are the essential tools for doing the work. In goods industries the separate roles of worker and tool are relatively clear, whether the tool is as simple as a hoe, a needle, or a hammer or is an enormous machine complex. In social welfare and rehabilitation, the worker as "knowledge in operation" and simultaneously as the tool that is manipulated to do the work requires a change in some of our images of work and workers that have been developed in earlier analysis of goods-producing work. The worker as a human being serving as a technological unit performing work in a service-producing system marches to a different drummer than does the worker who is part of a man-machine technological unit.

*If research reports, theoretical writings, and research utilization reports are useful to managers and workers in operating agencies, they should also be useful to students learning how to work in or manage such agencies, to teachers of such students, and to scholars involved in related study.

In service delivery systems the effectiveness of services is constrained by the effectiveness of workers. The effectiveness of workers is constrained by their ability to find purpose and meaning in the work they do and to see their careers as vehicles for self-realization. Effective and efficient delivery of services depends upon the effectiveness and efficiency of the individual agency's solution to its manpower problems; that is, the effective management of human resources in each local agency to achieve an optimum integration of that agency's service goals and the work-related personal goals of individual workers. The circular interaction between workers, their work, and the work setting is clear. The central goal or purpose of this interaction is benefit to the recipient of services and the ultimate determinant of effectiveness of services is the design and management of the service delivery system.

Many problems of resource management plague operating agencies, including problems in:

- obtaining adequate staff
- determining how many and what kinds of staff
- deciding how to utilize them effectively, as by
  - . . . clustering work tasks into jobs, work procedures, work groups and organizational subunits
  - . . . making work assignments, including the definition of prescribed tasks and of both allowable and required discretion in work
  - . . . determining workload
- maintaining "morale"; high motivation, responsibility, and creative use of discretion by all workers and managers are needed if the agency is to respond constructively and effectively to demands from its environment
- interpreting agency program and objectives and articulating subunit and individual purposes and needs
- managing change within agency; that is, managing growth, change, and development of the organization, the work group, and the individual worker, including:
  - . . . managing the "training overhead" implicit in all program change and innovation
  - . . . articulating multiple and conflicting objectives (management by whose objectives?)

- developing agency procedures and practices, including work flow, work routines and processes, control and monitoring, information feedback, etc.
- managing interaction among human and other resources and operating constraints.

PREMISES UNDERLYING THE PROGRAM

The SRS decision to undertake a comprehensive research approach to develop new knowledge for use in solving manpower problems is based on five major premises:

1. The achievement of SRS objectives ultimately depends on effectiveness and efficiency in local and State agency use of staff to deliver services.
2. The study of workers as human components of service systems requires research and management concepts that are more useful than those which are the basis for traditional paper-work management, management of goods-producing systems, and systems analysis based on economic theory.
3. Limited financial and scientific skill resources for research argue the favorable cost/benefit status of a research attack which would develop knowledge and data that would help a number of agencies.
4. A national study is needed because many problems seem to occur frequently and in many different agencies.
5. We have little clear knowledge of the correlate and antecedent factors in manpower problems; that is, how and under what conditions specific problems tend to occur and how they are interrelated with different characteristics of the workers, the work settings, and the work itself.

The lack of knowledge has caused widespread distress. Managers and workers at all levels complain of the lack of data and knowledge about the nature and magnitude of crucial relationships. Social welfare and rehabilitation work, because of its nature, requires a large amount of discretion in work performance by workers at all levels. Workers are both concept and tool in operation, and success in services is most often success in interpersonal tasks. Hence, work prescription, auxiliary tools, and procedures can never eliminate the discretion of the worker without eliminating the effectiveness of the services. This condition, combined with lack of knowledge and lack of data, results in a wide variety of complaints whose theme might be phrased "my technology is not under control." As a result, capacity for effective forward planning and efficient management of day-to-day work is seriously undermined. A sense of frustration is pervasive.

Helping local and State agencies is only one purpose behind this research. SRS and other national agencies (government and non-government) are concerned with many problems which can be solved only by considering interactions and

interrelations between and among agencies; that is, they are concerned with problems which make it expedient to view the totality of social welfare and rehabilitation agencies as a system. These supra-agency problems are of concern not only to the national agencies but also to State and local organizations whose work includes overseeing or funding other agencies. Some of these problems are:

- allocation of resources between agencies, which requires knowledge not only of agency "outputs" but the relationship between "use of resources" (in this case, manpower) and "outputs."
- interactions between agencies in that the work of one profoundly affects what can, what must, and what may be done by another. Since workers are the vehicles for delivering services, the management of any one agency's human resources affects the functioning of the system as a whole.
- competition between agencies for the same human and financial resources. (This interaction makes it sensible and important to tackle such problems as the national adequacy of the social welfare and rehabilitation manpower pool.)
- interaction between service agencies and the educational institutions that educate and train manpower for social welfare and rehabilitation services. (Educational institutions have an interest in the totality of agencies as well as their interrelationships. SRS is concerned with helping educational institutions to be more effective—concerned directly because of its investment in education and training and indirectly because of interest in the adequacy of educational "output".)
- new knowledge potential of the whole network of agencies which can be viewed as a vast continuing experiment in which various apparently similar "inputs" and "processes" yield seemingly dissimilar "outputs" and different "inputs" and "processes" seem to have the same "outputs."
- the fact that SRS itself operates as an agency, and the agency problems outlined above occur here in an intensive form because our solutions to these problems spread throughout the country like waves from a stone tossed into the water. However, because of the centricity and influence of the Federal agency, the "waves" often increase in size and impact as they meet and merge with State and local problems in search of a solution.

THE NATIONAL STUDY RESEARCH STRATEGY

In summary, a research strategy was developed because the need is too great, the hour is too late, and the cost of research is too high to depend on unrelated and fractionated solitary projects. What is required is an integrated,

planned, coordinated research program based on a creative working partnership between social scientists and program and policy staff for a totality greater than the sum of the parts.

Minimal new knowledge needed to be useful for manpower problems requires data about: (1) the workers themselves; (2) the work tasks they perform; and (3) the setting—organization and work group—in which they work.

These knowledge needs in the context of the present level of knowledge and state-of-the-art of research require the development of a multistage, multimethod, and multidiscipline research-development and knowledge-building strategy which takes into account:

- the dynamic nature of the phenomena under study
- the need to consider all levels of the system separately and in combination, since they operate separately and in interaction with others
- the necessity for multivariate and multidisciplinary methods to investigate the system meaningfully
- the need to develop more precise and sensitive observational and analytic techniques so that we can better "see" critical aspects of the phenomena under study

A strategy which builds knowledge requires a sequence of major research steps:

- a comprehensive overview of present social service knowledge and integration with knowledge of and issues in practice and management of the social welfare and rehabilitation programs
- refinement of research strategy and development of tactics for both "extensive" and "intensive" research
- development of required data-collection, observation, and analysis methodologies
- concurrent "extensive" and "intensive" investigations
- integration of results of general-purpose and special-issue analysis
- interpretation for use by managers, administrators, educators, and practice personnel
- coordination with other research streams and planning for next major research programs
- establishment of a formal mechanism for two-way communication about the technical issues and progress of the work, the perceived program information needs, and research utilization strategies

PROJECTS IN THE NATIONAL STUDY

At some point a broad research problem must be broken down, sometimes more or less arbitrarily, into manageable units of work usually called "projects" or "studies." Faced with (1) a complex set of knowledge needs, (2) considerable pressure both to obtain dependable results and to do so quickly, and (3) a dissatisfaction with knowledge and research techniques that are now readily available, the project staff evolved a strategy which would sequence and parallel projects so that:

- overview and developmental research projects could distill present knowledge and yield early but less complete and less certain results for immediate use in service programs and as a basis for empirical investigation in further research
- empirical investigation could proceed along two parallel lines to permit exploitation of both "extensive" and "intensive" research methodologies
- the national survey would be based on a probability sample and survey data-collection methodology for wide-scale "extensive" investigation of a limited set of variables related to several different phenomena
- an "intensive" investigation in depth of a larger number of factors and relationships would be related to specific issues and phenomena of particular concern and would provide an additional depth of understanding of data generated by the national survey as well as exploring vital issues beyond what is feasible in the extensive study. These investigations would concern:
  - . . . factors in the employment of subprofessionals, staff and organizational adaptation, and implications for service delivery
  - . . . impact of factors of organizational climate and structure on workers and work performance
  - . . . determinants of worker job mobility and implications for service delivery

Each of the special area studies is designed in three phases.

I. Overview study: conceptual development and preliminary field investigation to provide a limited field demonstration of the adequacy of the conceptual scheme from the above points of view and in terms of the ability of the scheme to be operationalized so that the relevant variables may be measured in the national survey.

II. Technical assistance in incorporating results of Phase I in developing, pilot testing and planning the national survey.

III. Intensive field investigation after Phase I and concurrent with Phase II, to develop and refine the conceptual framework completed in

Phase I to give a more useful extension and elaboration of the conceptual framework, serve to extend the understanding of the national survey data, and permit more perceptive analysis of these data for further investigation of the specific topics and for application of insights from the findings to the practical problems of agency management and policy.

PUBLICATIONS FROM THE NATIONAL STUDY

Three types of publications are being published under a series title *National Study of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation Workers, Work, and Organizational Contexts,* with individual publications in each series numbered in order of publication. Publication is expected as each unit of work is completed. The three series are:

Working Papers. These will be informal and interim-type publications including state-of-knowledge and literature review papers, theoretical essays, and other informal conceptual and research methods papers that are expected to have utility for workers and managers in social welfare and rehabilitation agencies and/or scholars working on similar research problems and students preparing for work in this field.

Research Reports. These will be reports on specific units of research activity including final reports on the phases of the developmental and overview studies, reports on specific problem areas, and other more or less formal report-type documents. The purpose here is to present a conceptual framework for research and an analysis of findings resulting from empirical investigation.

Program Application Reports. This set of publications is directed to policy makers, agency and program managers, and workers. The objective is to take research findings one step more toward interpretation and translation for use than is feasible in the research reports themselves. This set is visualized as covering a fairly wide variety of topics at several levels of analysis ranging from interpretation of findings for application in everyday work in practice, management, and policy making to reports by local or State agencies on actual program changes and/or demonstrations growing directly out of some of the research findings. A variety of authors is expected, primarily "program" staff (policy makers, managers, workers, teachers) with some collaboration between program and research staff. Papers of national interest prepared by staff in local, State, and nongovernmental programs will be published as resources permit. This class of publications is designed to begin building a bridge between research findings and their use in management and practice in operating agencies.

SUMMARY OF SPECIFIC PROJECTS

National Survey of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation Workers, Work, and Organizational Contexts

This is a major research effort planned for initiation late in 1971. The survey is being developed in three stages to make it possible for the first time to link personal, social, demographic, education, work experience, work assignments, and attitudinal characteristics of workers with, on the one hand, some meaningful characteristics of the work tasks they perform and, on the other hand, characteristics of the organizational context and service or income delivery systems in which they work.

Present plans call for a research approach using a personal interview survey methodology and based on a national multistage probability sample of public and private organizations engaged in service delivery and policy and planning roles in social welfare and rehabilitation services. The research plan calls for a sampling strategy based on: (1) a sample of organizations delivering, funding, or planning services; (2) within organizations, either a sample or census of workers; and (3) a sample of tasks performed.

The purpose is to relate characteristics of tasks to characteristics of workers and in turn to characteristics of the organizational context in which they work. The study will focus on a variety of manpower dimensions including such topics as patterns of worker utilization, turnover, worker characteristics, kinds of tasks performed, and characteristics of organizational climate and structure. Data items will be included here which can be analyzed in the context of the research problems of the intensive studies in order to provide quantification and verification of their findings.

These data are expected to be useful to a variety of users within and outside the government. They are expected to yield extensive quantification of different manpower dimensions which, when analyzed together with the results of the intensive studies, would provide important insights into several issues of interest for services and manpower policy and planning as well as for agency administration and scholars in the field.

Some of the topics that are expected to be included are:

- personal and demographic characteristics of workers
- salaries and working conditions
- job and position information
- job tenure
- education and experience
- selected worker attitudes
- selected career attitudes and expectations

- characteristics of a sample of tasks
- selected characteristics of the organizational structure, function, and climates

A Study of Determinants of Worker Job Mobility and Implications for Service Delivery

The study and interpretation of worker job mobility has long been a concern of social scientists who have studied worker and organizational behavior and organizational effectiveness. The importance of this mobility stems from its implications for costs in recruiting, selecting, training, and placing workers; its impact on the quantity and quality of work performed and services rendered; its meaning for the workers themselves and their careers. This research is directed toward an exploration of the issues and effects of worker job mobility and the identification and exploration of critical questions about: (1) the ways in which worker job mobility can be characterized meaningfully from the viewpoint of work planning, organization management, education and training, and worker career management and planning; and (2) the ways in which different attributes of the work situation and characteristics of the workers relate to different types of worker movement.

In order to deal meaningfully with worker job mobility (interjob, interagency, and to and from the field) it must be characterized as a dynamic phenomenon with different implications for both the worker and the employing organization and in the context of different situations and circumstances. This characterization must spring from a conceptual framework that depicts different types of mobility within the context of (1) the settings in which it takes place; (2) the different types of movement between jobs; (3) those workers who contribute differentially to the occurrence of different types of movement; (4) the nature of the process in which entrance into or exit from specific job or agency employment is the end result; and (5) the theoretical nature of worker job mobility as both a characteristic of workers and/or organizations and work settings.

A Study of the Impact of Factors of Organizational Climate and Structure on Social Welfare and Rehabilitation Workers and Work Performance

Generic sociological and organizational analysis indicates that there are complex relationships between the work to be done by and within an organization and the structure and climate of that organization. In order to produce knowledge which may be useful for affecting changes in the social welfare and rehabilitation field, concepts in organizational analysis must be specifically applied to this field. The relationships which exist within the field must be specifically identified and measured. This study is to identify sets of

variables which are likely to yield meaningful interrelationships in the social welfare and rehabilitation field, so that the organizational contexts of social welfare and rehabilitation work and their impacts on workers and worker roles may be adequately characterized. The adequacy of this characterization will be in terms of the extent to which it provides knowledge which may be used for the further development or modification of jobs; design of work units and subsystems; education, training, and recruitment of workers; task structuring; and the organization of service delivery systems.

A Study of Employment of Subprofessionals, Staff and Organizational Adaptation, and Implications for Service Delivery

This study is to perform the work of conceptual development and empirical investigation of the processes involved and the effects of the trend toward the employment of a new type of service worker called variously "subprofessional," "nonprofessional," "paraprofessional," and/or "new-careerist." The conceptual development must eventually lead to a methodology for data collection through which the interrelationships and adjustment processes which arise within and among organizations, workers, work roles, and client services may be empirically determined.

The trend toward the employment of subprofessionals, both indigenous and nonindigenous, in social welfare and rehabilitation work appears very likely to increase in scope. There are various sources of pressure and justifications for this trend. It has pervasive impact on the structure and climate of the employing organizations; on the roles, self-perceptions, and career patterns of both professionals and nonprofessionals; and on the relations between agencies and their clientele, between agencies and the community, and between agencies and extracommunity reference groups. The patterns of these impacts are not clear, although they seem likely to be different, depending on the kinds of pressures and justifications to which agencies respond, on the vicissitudes of continuing pressures and justifications, and on the developments stimulated by organizations' and workers' responses to the inclusion of subprofessionals.

The impetus for this study arises from a need for information which may be useful for anticipating the events consequent on the inclusion of subprofessionals in social welfare and rehabilitation service organizations, so that discontinuities, conflicts, and abortive compromises which affect workers and/or the adequacy of services to clients may be minimized.

Some important questions are:

> Are there various types of subprofessional workers? If so, how can these classes of workers be characterized conceptually to be meaningful for manpower and service delivery planning and management?

What are the forces that impinge on social welfare and rehabilitation agencies to incorporate the various types of workers into their organizations, and how does this affect the pattern and results of differential manpower utilization?

How can the various patterns or modes of using subprofessionals be depicted or described in a meaningful manner?

At a given point in time, do these depictions of worker functions vary systematically among the various components or levels of a given organization?

Do these depictions of worker functions evolve or change over time? If so, what variables seem to be associated with these changes?

How are different modes of subprofessional assimilation and utilization reflected in selection and training procedures and in the amount of prescription associated with work functions?

How can the consequence of the variables identified above be characterized?

What are the dynamics of introduction of the subprofessional into the agency? What are the processes of introduction? What is the impact on the division of labor?

A Study to Develop a Methodology to Measure Meaningful Dimensions of the Work Content of Social Welfare Jobs (Task Analysis Methodology)

Work on this project both "in house" and under contract is an effort to achieve a much-needed conceptual and methodological breakthrough.

Work has been pushed toward the measurement of the "transformation" attributes of a task. Each unit of work—that is, each task—can be meaningfully viewed as a "bit" of worker behavior that transforms a situation or condition into a new situation or condition consistent with the objectives of the stream of work in which it is embedded. Thus, its meaning can only be revealed by research methodology that links the work behavior and the results from the worker's action in a way that is relevant to work goals.

The conceptual base for this research is an image of the service organization as an ongoing "open" system and of work units or tasks as units of activities which can be defined as separable entities which transform a situation into a new situation or result that is meaningful in terms of system goals. One basic assumption is that different worker actions can have the same end result and that different end results can be achieved by the same worker actions. The impact of the task on the goals of the system grows out of a configuration of the different task elements and cannot be explained in terms of simple causation.

Development of a Taxonomy of Agencies, Services, and System Maintenance Activities

A study to develop and test a categorization scheme and data collection procedures for identifying and classifying social welfare and rehabilitation services and system maintenance activities.

The objective is a present state-of-the-art conceptual framework and procedures for identifying and classifying all major units of work output of public and private social welfare and rehabilitation programs in primary agencies or as secondary programs in educational, health, and other types of establishments.

Taken together, the categories of services and the categories of system maintenance activities should include all major work units produced by the delivery system—i.e., should provide major categories of everything that gets done by the agency. Other sets of categories should make it possible to subsume and group smaller units of work such as tasks, task clusters, task sequences, and specific work procedures, in a manner that will relate the smaller units to agency goals and objectives. A taxonomy of services and system maintenance activities serves as the first or largest classification of "what has to get done" to meet agency objectives and thus becomes a categorization of agency "outputs" and serves as a bridge between agency goals and objectives and specific work activities. On the other hand, it serves as the largest unit for accumulating related work activities such as tasks and as the organizing frame for the major classifications of work that gets done.

This project will focus on developing a hierarchical model structure which categorizes social welfare and rehabilitation activities on multiple dimensions so that the different structures of agencies can be reflected in useful, unambiguous categorizations that have consistency and comparability from one situation to another. The end result will be a taxonomy of services and system maintenance activities and a typology of agencies as a tool for identifying the important interactions between and among different kinds of agencies and different types of workers and work. The typology of agencies will provide a similar bridge between the work of agencies and broader social goals.

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